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afterwards chaplain to John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France—turned Deguilleville's first verse *Pèlerinaige* into a prose *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*.[1] By the kindness of Lord Aldenham, as above mentiond, Gallopes's French text will be printed opposite the early prose northern Englishing in the Society's edition.

The Second Version of Deguilleville's *Pèlerinaige de l'Homme*, A.D. 1355 or -6, was englisht in verse by Lydgate in 1426. Of Lydgate's poem, the larger part is in the Cotton MS. Vitellius C. xiii (leaves 2-308). This MS. leaves out Chaucer's englishing of Deguilleville's *A B C* or *Prayer to the Virgin*, of which the successive stanzas start with A, B, C, and run all thro' the alphabet; and it has 2 main gaps, besides many small ones from the tops of leaves being burnt in the Cotton fire. All these gaps (save the A B C) will be fild up from the Stowe MS. 952 (which old John Stowe completed) and from the end of the other imperfect MS. Cotton, Tiberius A vii. Thanks to the diligence of the old Elizabethan tailor and manuscript-lover, a complete text of Lydgate's poem can be given. The British Museum French MSS. (Harleian 4399,[2] and Additional 22,937[3] and 25,594[4]) are all of the First Version.

Besides his first *Pèlerinaige de l'homme* in its two versions, Deguilleville wrote a second, "de l'ame separee du corps," and a third, "de nostre seigneur Iesus." Of the second, a prose Englishing of 1413, *The Pilgrimage of the Sowle* (with poems by Hoccleve, already printed for the Society with that author's *Regement of Princes*), exists in the Egerton MS. 615,[5] at Hatfield, Cambridge (Univ. Kk. 1. 7, and Caius), Oxford (Univ. Coll. and Corpus), and in Caxton's edition of 1483. This version has 'somewhat of addicions' as Caxton says, and some shortenings too, as the maker of both, the first translator, tells us in the MSS. Caxton leaves out the earlier englisher's interesting Epilog in the Egerton MS. This prose englishing of the *Sowle* will be edited for the Society by Prof. Dr. Leon Kellner after that of the *Man* is finisht, and will have Gallopes's French opposite it, from Lord Aldenham's MS., as his gift to the Society. Of the Pilgrimage of Jesus, no englishing is known.

As to the MS. Anglo-Saxon Psalters, Dr. Hy. Sweet has edited the oldest MS., the Vespasian, in his *Oldest English Texts* for the Society, and Mr. Harsley has edited the latest, c. 1150, Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter. The other MSS., except the Paris one, being interlinear versions,—some of the Roman-Latin redaction, and some of the Gallican,—Prof. Logeman has prepared for press, a Parallel-Text edition of the first twelve Psalms, to start the complete work. He will do his best to get the Paris Psalter—tho' it is not an interlinear one—into this collective edition; but the additional matter, especially in the Verse-Psalms, is very difficult to me. If the Paris text cannot be parallelised, it will form a separate volume. The Early English Psalters are all independent versions, and will follow separately in due course.

Through the good offices of the Examiners, some of the books for the Early-English Examinations of the University of London will be chosen from the Society's publications, the Committee having undertaken to supply such books to students at a large reduction in price. The net profits from these sales will be applied to the Society's Reprints.

Members are reminded that *fresh Subscribers are always wanted*, and that the Committee can at any time, on short notice, send to press an additional Thousand Pounds' worth of work.

The Subscribers to the Original Series must be prepared for the issue of the whole of the Early English *Lives of Saints*, sooner or later. The Society cannot leave out any of them, even though some are dull. The Sinners would doubtless be much more interesting. But in many Saints' Lives will be found valuable incidental details of our forefathers' social state, and all are worthful for the history of our language. The Lives may be lookt on as the religious romances or story-books of their period.

The Standard Collection of Saints' Lives in the Corpus and Ashmole MSS., the Harleian MS. 2277, &c. will repeat the Laud set, our No. 87, with additions, and in right order. (The foundation MS. (Laud 108) had to be printed first, to prevent quite unwieldy collations.) The Supplementary Lives from the Vernon and other MSS. will form one or two separate volumes.

Besides the Saints' Lives, Trevisa's englishing of *Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum*, the mediæval Cyclopædia of Science, &c., will be the Society's next big undertaking. Dr. R. von Fleischhacker will edit it. Prof. Napier of Oxford, wishing to have the whole of our MS. Anglo-Saxon in type, and accessible to students, will edit for the Society all the unprinted and other Anglo-Saxon Homilies which are not included in Thorpe's edition of Ælfric's prose,[6] Dr. Morris's of the Blickling Homilies, and Prof. Skeat's of Ælfric's Metrical

1 These were printed in France, late in the 15th or early in the 16th century.

2 15th cent., containing only the *Vie humaine*.

3 15th cent., containing all the 3 Pilgrimages, the 3rd being Jesus Christ's.

4 14th cent., containing the *Vie humaine* and the 2nd Pilgrimage, *de l'Ame*: both incomplete.

5 Ab. 1430, 106 leaves (leaf 1 of text wanting), with illuminations of nice little devils—red, green, tawny &c.—and damnd souls, fires, angels &c.

6 Of these, Mr. Harsley is preparing a new edition, with collations of all the MSS. Many copies of Thorpe's book, not issued by the Ælfric Society, are still in stock.

Of the Vercelli Homilies, the Society has bought the copy made by Prof. G. Lattanzi.

Homilies. The late Prof. Kölbing left complete his edition, for the Society, of the *Ancren Riwle*, from the best MS., with collations of the other four. Mr. Harvey means to prepare an edition of the three MSS. of the *Earliest English Metrical Psalter*, one of which was edited by the late Mr. Stevenson for the Surtees Society.

Members of the Society will learn with pleasure that its example has been followed, not only by the Old French Text Society which has done such admirable work under its founders Profs. Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, but also by the Early Russian Text Society, which was set on foot in 1877, and has since issued many excellent editions of old MS. Chronicles &c.

Members will also note with pleasure the annexation of large tracts of our Early English territory by the important German contingent under General Zupitza, Colonel Kölbing, volunteers Hausknecht, Einenkel, Haenisch, Kaluza, Hupe, Adam, Holthausen, Schick, Herzfeld, Brandeis, &c. Scandinavia has also sent us Prof. Erdmann; Holland, Prof. H. Logeman, who is now working in Belgium; France, Prof. Paul Meyer—with Gaston Paris as adviser; —Italy, Prof. Lattanzi; Hungary, Dr. von Fleischhacker; while America is represented by the late Prof. Child, by Dr. Mary Noyes Colvin, Profs. Mead, Perrin, McClintock, Triggs, &c. The sympathy, the ready help, which the Society's work has cald forth from the Continent and the United States, have been among the pleasantest experiences of the Society's life, a real aid and cheer amid all troubles and discouragements. All our Members are grateful for it, and recognise that the bond their work has woven between them and the lovers of language and antiquity across the seas is one of the most welcome results of the Society's efforts.

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More members (to bring money) and Editors (to bring brains) are wanted by the Society.

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Page xx, line 16. After "The monk of St. Mary's Abbey," read "John de Garryk, or Gaytrik (vide p. xviii), *alias* Taystek . . . "; (J. de G. below).

Page 3. Margin, line 4. Omit "false." The indulgence was for knowledge of the "Six Things." Vide pp. 96–99.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

The late Canon Simmons had made considerable progress with this work before his lamented death. Had he lived to complete the task, it would have formed a fitting companion to his *Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, which was published by the Early English Text Society in 1879. In that volume[1] we have the "Lex Orandi," in the present, the "Lex Credendi"—of the Church of our forefathers in mediæval times. Canon Simmons was able to see in type the four texts which are here presented to the reader; he had put together a large number of notes, and made the first rough draft of a glossary and index. The uncompleted work he passed on to Mr. F. D. Matthew, and those who are acquainted with that scholar's edition of the *Unprinted English Works of Wyclif*, and other important contributions to the study of the mediæval literature of this country, will regret that his engagements prevented him from carrying forward Canon Simmons' work to its conclusion. He was able, however, to do some good work upon the notes, and to add several of his own; and then, at the suggestion of a mutual friend, he asked me to finish it. Partly influenced by the memory of my former friendship with Canon Simmons, and partly by the interest with which I regarded the subject, I consented. For the completion of the Glossary and Index, I am indebted to the accomplished hand of Miss Gunning, of Cambridge, assisted by her friend the late Miss Parkinson; and for much valuable assistance in the German literature which had to be consulted, to my wife. I have revised, completed and made sundry additions to the notes, and written an Introduction, which includes notices of Archbishops Peckham and Thoresby, and of Wyclif; a section dealing with the differences of dialect in the two 14th century English texts; and some account of the History of Catechisms.

[1] (Coupled with the *Lay Folks' Prayer-Book*, edited for the Early English Text Society, by Mr. H. Littlehales.)

With this volume the Early English Text Society has completed the publication of the extant authorized English Formularies of the Northern province.

I have only to add, that I am but too well aware how ill-equipped a town-clergyman, who can only follow up literary pursuits of this kind in the brief intervals of a busy life, must inevitably prove, when he essays to take up a work which has fallen from such practised hands: and the same cause must be my apology for the long delay which has occurred in the publication of the volume.

H. E. Nolloth.

Beverley, July 1900.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. THREE OF THE EARLIEST ENGLISH REFORMERS.

In the four mediæval documents which form the text of this volume, we have an interesting survival of the efforts of three of the earliest of the English Reformers. For John de Thoresby and John Peckham, the Northern and the Southern Primates, no less than John de Wyclif, the Oxford scholar and leader, deserved that title. All three men were anxious, before everything else, to amend the carelessness and the inconsistency of the clergy, and the consequent ignorance and corruption of the laity of their day. And, widely as they differed from each other,—Thoresby from Peckham as far as both from Wyclif,—in this respect their efforts were not only similar, but connected. The Lay Folks' Catechism of Thoresby must have been suggested by the Constitutions of Peckham, and the "Wycliffite Adaptation" of the present volume was a new and expanded edition of the Catechism of Thoresby. It will be necessary to say something about each of these men; and as this will best be done in order of time, we will begin with the Southern archbishop.

I. JOHN PECKHAM.

John Peckham was born in Sussex about the year 1240, and received his early education in the priory at Lewes, from which he proceeded to the University of Paris, studying under St. Bonaventura. He was appointed Reader in Divinity at Oxford; and there joined the order of St. Francis. Returning to Paris, he lectured on theology; was appointed Provincial Minister of the Franciscans in England, and was invited to Rome, where he became the Lector Sacri Palatii; "in fact," as Mr. Martin observes in his preface to *Peckham's Register of Letters*, "he was the first theological lecturer in the newly founded schools in the Papal Palace"; where his lectures were attended by large audiences, including many

bishops and cardinals. In 1278 he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by Nicholas III., in spite of the attempts made by Edward I. to gain the preferment for his chancellor, Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells; but was not consecrated till the spring of the following year. He was well received by the king, and showed himself a strong prelate, a determined foe of pluralists, and quite ready to champion the cause of ecclesiastical reform against the king himself, when need arose. Like Thoresby in the following century, he was most assiduous in his endeavours to improve the education and the discipline of the clergy of his province; and to this end mainly, summoned the Council which sat at Lambeth, from the 7th to 10th of October, 1281. He was a man of great personal austerity, "keeping seven Lents in each year." He never lost his affection for the Order of St. Francis, and nearly always styled himself, as in the exordium of his "Constitutiones," in the text, and in the letter which will presently be given,—"Frater Johannes,"—"Friar John." It has been observed that as Wycliffe displays a bias against prelates and friars, so does Peckham against the secular clergy, and this is shown by his Lambeth Canons. But that monks came equally under his lash when they deserved it, is proved by the following extract from his reply to the request of Edward I. that he would consecrate a Cistercian Abbey in Wales:

ARCHBISHOP PECKHAM TO KING EDWARD I.

June 14, 1284 . . . "And therefore, Sire, altho' I am ready, so far as is in me, to dedicate the place for the Cistercian monks at Meynan, yet I could not do it without the full assent of the bishop and of his chapter, and of the parson of the place, who, with plenty of other people, have a very great horror of the approach of the forsaid monks. For though they may be good men, if God please, still they are the hardest neighbours that prelates and parsons could have. For where they plant their foot, they destroy towns, take away tithes, and curtail by their privileges all the power of prelacy." (Letter DLIV.)[1]

The evil of pluralities was one of the abuses which Peckham most vigorously attacked in the case of the secular clergy. Nor is

[1] Mr. Martin remarks upon this letter: "The avarice of the Cistercians had already been noticed by Richard I., who, when accused of having at home three daughters whom he loved more than the grace of God, viz., Pride, Luxury, and Avarice, replied: 'No, they are no longer at home. My daughter Pride I have married to the Templars, Luxury to the Black Monks, and Avarice to the White Monks.'" (Pref. to Vol. II., *Peckham's Register*, p. lviii.)

this to be wondered at when we read the lists of preferments so frequently held by one person, who, in many cases, had never set his foot in some of the benefices of which he was the incumbent: thus we are told of Aymo de Carto, one of the writer's predecessors in the church of Beverley, that in addition to being Provost of Beverley, he was Precentor of Lyons, Provost of Lausanne, and Rector of Dungarvan in Ireland.

In Peckham's remarkable treatise, *De Oculo Morali*,[1] he remarks "that as you see double if you push the eye out of its place with your finger; so prelates, through evil counsel, judge a priest to be worthy of two benefices, when he ought to be contented with one." And again, he forcibly condemns the degeneracy of the times:—

"Formerly the Church with its prelates of old time, was golden in wisdom, silver in cleanness of life, brazen in eloquence, which are three things needful to a preacher; that is, brightness of wisdom, cleanness of life, and sonorousness of eloquence. But of the feet, the last, that is the modern prelates, part is iron through their hardness of heart, and part is clay by their carnal luxury."

The Canons of the Council of Lambeth are given by Lyndwood, p. 26. (Provinciale, Oxford, 1679.) Peckham's letter of July 30, 1281, to the Bishop of London, ordering him to summon the clergy to the Council of Lambeth, is preserved in his register, and has been printed by Wilkins (*Concilia*, ii. 50), and by Mr. Martin in his interesting volumes in the Rolls series.[2]

Lyndwood, among his *Constitutiones Provinciales*,[3] also gives

[1] V. Martin, Pref. to V. III. lxxxi.

[2] (Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Joannis Peckham, Arch. Cant., vol. i. p. 211.)

In the preface to vol. iii., Mr. Martin gives the following list of MSS. of the Constitutions of Lambeth:—

(1) Harl. MS. 335 ff. 57*b*.–65*b*. (xv. cent.)
(2) Harl. MS. 52 ff. 85–92, B. M. (xiv. cent.)
(3) Harl. MS. 2349 ff. 71–89*b*., B. M. (xiv. cent.)
(4) Harl. MS. 3705 ff. 42–55*b*. (xv. cent.)
(5) Lamb. MS. 538 ff. 105–129. This is the MS. referred to by *Wilkins* as Lamb. MS. 17. (xv. cent.)
(6) Lamb. MS. 460 ff. 1–119*b*., gives these Canons ix–xiii with a lengthy treatise on them by a monk. (xiv. cent.)
(7) Lamb. MS. 778 ff. 27*b*. Imperfect.
(8) Digby MS. 58 ff. 97–111, Bibl. Bodl. (xiv. cent.)
(9) Tanner MS. 196 ff. 157*b*–159, Bibl. Bodl. cap. xx–xxiv. (xv. cent., vellum.)
(10) MS. Selden, supra 43; Bibl. Bodl. (xv. cent., vellum.)
(11) MS. Selden, supra 43 ff. 169–176; Bibl. Bodl. (xv. cent., vellum.)
(12) Hatton MS. 109 (12); Bibl. Bodl., Lambeth, cap. vii. (xiv. cent.), and about 23 others.

[3] *Provinciale, Oxoniæ*, 1679, p. 54. Cf. also p. 1, 42; also *Archbishop Arundell*, p. 291; and *Constit. Dom. Oth.*, p. 16.

an ordinance of Peckham, of which the following is the commencement:—

"*De officio Archipresbyteri. Quilibet sacerdos, curam animarum potissimum gerens, quater in anno dilucidè exponat subditis suis Articulos fidei, & præcepta moralia ad salutem necessaria, ut in hoc capitulo summatim recitantur.*

Johannes Peccham.

Ignorantia sacerdotum præcipimus ut quilibet sacerdos plebi præsidens . . . . . "

And then follow the *Constitutions* in very much the same form as that in which they are printed in our text (P.), which consists of the Lambeth Canons, ix—xiii. They run in the name of the Archbishop, who begins by stating his desire to remedy present evils, and his hope to make progress in that direction, by the favour of Christ, and with the assistance of his brethren and bishops. Ignorance on the part of the clergy is the source of error in the people whom they are bound to guide. Therefore he directs that every priest shall explain to his people simply and clearly, four times a year, the Creed, the ten commandments, the two precepts of the Gospel, viz. love to God and man, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the seven cardinal virtues, and the seven sacraments of grace. Furthermore, lest any priest should put forward the excuse of ignorance, he (the Archbishop) will explain briefly in what these things consist. And a short and simple exposition of the elements of faith and practice, completes this division of the Canons of the Council of Lambeth.

II. ARCHBISHOP THORESBY.

We now turn to our Northern primate. John de Thoresby is described by the author of the *Fasti Eboracenses* as "standing in the front rank of that band of worthies of the 14th century, who signalized themselves by their learning and taste. It is with a feeling akin to reverence that I look back upon his many services to his country, his pious zeal, and his open-handed munificence."

In Archbishop Thoresby's time the morals, the learning, and the piety of the clergy were at a low ebb.[1] They were held in but little estimation by the laity, with whom they frequently quarrelled and sometimes fought. The churches and churchyards were desecrated

[1] See Gower (*Confessio Amantis*, Prologue); Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, edited by Dr. Furnivall (Early Eng. Text Soc., Extra Series, LXXII., 1897), 1408–1442.

by fairs, feasts, and dances. (Thoresby, Reg., Sep. 9, 1305: cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, 119.) Pluralities existed in abundance, as well as the intrusion of foreign sinecurists into English benefices and posts of dignity by the pope. From 1343 to 1385 the deanery of York was held continuously by his cardinals: and the condition of things at the Minster, when visited by the Archbishop on May 12, 1362, set but a poor example to the diocese. The Archbishop was himself an Oxford scholar of high attainments, and a master of Latin composition, as shown by the many letters still preserved in the second part of the *Register of Archbishop Alexander Neville*. Ralph Thoresby, in his *Vicaria Leodiensis* (p. 185) describes him as the second son of Hugh Thoresby (son of Sir Hugh, the son and heir of Sir Adam Thoresby of Thoresby, Kt.) by Isabel the daughter of Sir Tho. Grose of Suffolk, Kt He evidently, like his still greater contemporary, Wyclif, belonged to a Yorkshire family of consideration in the North Riding. A Richard de Thoresby, cousin of the Archbishop, was collated to the prebend of St. Andrew, in Beverley Minster, on May 16, 1355; and a John de Thoresby, who became Provost of Beverley in 1373, was also related to the Archbishop, and was one of his executors.

From his reputation at Oxford as a great theologian and Canonist, John Baconthorp dedicated to Thoresby his Commentary upon the *Ethics of Aristotle*. But his legal ability was probably the secret of his rapid promotion. He was appointed the King's proctor at the court of Rome; and on July 2, 1347, Edward III. made him Keeper of the Great Seal. On September 3, in the same year, he was consecrated Bishop of St. David's. In Warburton's MS. catalogue of the "Names and Arms of the great Princes, Noblemen, and Knyghts who were with the most victorious King Edward III. in his Wars in France and Normandie, during the siege and winning of Calais, Anno 1347," Thoresby is set down fourteenth from the Prince of Wales, and is said to have been followed by a retinue of 1 Banneret, 2 Knyghts, 30 Esquiers, 30 Archers on Horseback, and 36 Archers on foot,—99 in all.

In 1349 he was translated to the see of Worcester, and in the same year he became Lord Chancellor. Shortly afterwards he was made Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula.

In October 1352, Thoresby was advanced to the Northern primacy. Henceforth he endeavoured to free himself from political cares, and to give his undivided energies to his ecclesiastical functions.

In 1355, however, he was made one of the regents of the kingdom during the absence of Edward III. on his French campaign. He resigned the office of Lord Chancellor in 1356. He was a great peace-maker. "Lites et contentiones ubique delevit."[1] He it was who brought to an end the long-standing contention between the sees of York and Canterbury as to the right of either metropolitan to bear his cross erect in the province of the other. In this respect he compares favourably with the Southern primate who has just engaged our attention. Peckham, on hearing that his brother of York had returned from abroad, and was intending to pass through his province with his cross erect, wrote a letter (still preserved in his register), forbidding the clergy to show him any mark of respect, ordering them to shut the church-doors in his face, and threatening all persons, clerical and lay, with excommunication, who ventured to supply him with food, or render him the slightest service.

Thoresby has been ranked with Wykeham among the great Church-builders of the 14th century. But he seems to soar far above them all when we are reminded that to him we owe the noble conception of the most vast[2] and stately choir in Christendom; the lofty and magnificent choir of York Minster; surrounded with great windows of ancient glass to which this country presents no parallel; the East window being the finest in the world. In August 1361, the Archbishop began the foundation of the new Choir, and laid the first stone himself. Not only did he earnestly ask for the offerings of the faithful, but he was a munificent contributor to the fabric as long as he lived. Again and again did he give large sums of money (*v.* Torre's MSS. in the Minster Library), and even pulled down his Manor-house at Sherburn that the stone might be used in the new works at the Minster.

But our present concern is rather with his untiring efforts for the edification of the spiritual Church. "His chief solicitude" (says Ralph Thoresby in his *Vicaria Leodiensis*, p. 196) "was for the poor Vicars who had the cure of souls, yet were often too meanly provided for; to remedy which he erected Vicarages in some impropriate churches, which had been till that time ill-served, and

[1] Stubbs, *Col.* 1733.

[2] Taking into account height as well as area. A friend who saw the above statement in proof, took exception to the description of Thoresby and Wykeham as "Church-builders." But I have neither said nor implied that they drew their own plans. They must, however, have had some "conception" of what they wanted, and instructed their architects accordingly, just as most "Church-builders" do now.

augmented others, where he found the endowment too small to afford a competent Maintenance to those that served the Cure."

The *Fasti Eboracenses* draw our attention to the pains taken by Thoresby to increase the number and the efficiency of the clergy. He usually officiated at his ordinations himself, and his lists have been preserved. In the year 1369 he held three special and four general ordinations, at all of which he officiated. The numbers were 306 acolytes, 187 sub-deacons, 163 deacons, and 161 priests. They were to serve, it must be remembered, in an area very much greater than that of the present diocese of York, for it included all Yorkshire, a part of Nottinghamshire, and the portions of Lancashire and Westmoreland comprised in the archdeaconry of Richmond. We must also bear in mind, when comparing these numbers with those of ordinations at the present day, that they included not only parochial clergy, but chantry-priests, and monks, and many canons.

Wilkins (*Concilia*, iii. p. 68) gives the "Constitutions of Archbishop Thoresby," put forth in the same year as the Catechism (1357), and designed to check various abuses, both among the clergy and laity.

In his anxiety to amend the ignorance and neglect of the parish-priests, and the consequent godlessness of their flocks, the Archbishop put forth the Catechism printed in this volume. It was issued both in Latin and in English,—the latter of the simplest character, so as to be understood by the most uncultured of the laity. Both versions were dated from his manor of Cawood, on November 25, 1357. The step was evidently suggested by the action of Peckham, seventy-six years before. Following the example of the Southern Archbishop at the Council of Lambeth, Thoresby gained for his Catechism the approval of the Council or Convocation of York. Both primates doubtless knew that their action would come with added authority from the whole Church of each province; and also that by thus taking their clergy into confidence, they would ensure their sympathy and co-operation. How closely the Catechism, in its original Latin form, was framed on Peckham's model, our readers may easily see by comparing the two texts (C.) and (P.). The exordium upon the carelessness and ignorance of the clergy, and the Archbishop's hope of reformation with the approval and assistance of his sacred Council, though more gently worded than that of the earlier *Constitutions*, is to the same effect. So is the ordinance which follows: the clergy are simply to expound the Creed, the

Commandments, and the same additional "fundamentals" of faith and practice: and to remove the excuse of ignorance, a similarly brief and clear explanation is given.

To show the close correspondence of the two texts, not only in substance, but in phraseology, it may be worth while to print the following sentences side by side:—

C., l. 26, p. 22. Et ne quis super hiis per ignorantiam se valeat excusare, hæc sub verbis planis et incultis, ut sic levius in publicam deducantur notitiam, fecimus annotare.

P., l. 23, p. 23. Et ne quis a prædictis per ignorantiam se excuset, quæ tamen omnes ministri Ecclesiæ scire tenentur, ea perstringimus summaria brevitate.

Thoresby demanded more frequent instruction from his clergy than Peckham did; and "at least on the Lord's Day" takes the place of the "four times a year, on one or more holy-days," of the Lambeth Canons.

Henry Wharton, in his criticism of Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, when insisting on the frequency of sermons before the Reformation, adduces this injunction of Archbishop Thoresby: "The Practice (of preaching) seemeth not to have been unfrequent long before this time, and in some places to have been commanded to all the Parish-Priests. For in the Constitutions of John de Thoresby, Archbishop of York, made about the year 1360, I found a Command to all the Parochial Clergy to preach frequently to their People, and explain to them the Articles of the Faith in the *English* Tongue; and an Exhortation directed to the People, *to here Goddys Service every Soneday with Reverence and Devocioun, and seye devowtly thy* Pater-Noster, *&c., and here Goddys Lawe taught in thy Modyr Tonge. For that is bettyr than to here many Massys.*"[1]

Here, possibly, the critic may have fallen into error himself; for the latter exhortation is from the Wycliffite version. The same remark applies to his note appended to Archbishop Ussher's *Historia Dogmatica* (pp. 430, 431; London 1689). "Thoresbeio in hâc sententiâ præivit Robertus Pullenus, Cardinalis; cujus insigne testimonium antea omissum, hîc loci apponam. Sic igitur ille in Sermone 16, MS. *Sunt nonnulli omnium, quos terra sustinet, miserrimi; qui nec boni in se aliquid habent; et cum in aliis audierint vel viderint, non diligunt, sed invident: Et eos quos ad divinam lectionem*

[1] *Specimen of Errors in Bishop Gilbert Burnet's History of the Reformation*, by Anthony Harmer (pseudonym for Henry Wharton); London, 1693: *Pars Prima*, pp. 56, 57.

vel prædicationem proficisci cognoverint, à bono proposito virulentis dissuasionibus, quantum in ipsis est, revocant." (Robert Pullen, c. 1140: from his MS. Sermons in the Lambeth Library.)

The English version of Thoresby's Instruction, or "Lay Folks' Catechism," is in rude verse; and was translated from the Latin by John de Taystek, a monk of St. Mary's Abbey at York: it was enrolled in the Archbishop's official Register, from which the text (T.) in this volume is reproduced: and the original Latin version (C.) is derived from the same source. It was approved by the Council or Convocation of the clergy of the Diocese and Province of York in 1357. There is a copy in MSS. Harl. 1022, 74–80, at the end of which there is the following note:—"Transumpta erat ista prædicacio a lingua Latina in nostram maternam linguam de mandato domini Johannis de Thoresby, Ebor. Archiep., per venerabilem et discretum virum Johannem de Taystek, monachum monasterii beatæ Mariæ Ebor., anno Domini millesimo trescentesimo quinquagesimo septimo."

The translation is really a very wide expansion of the original text: evidently for the sake of fuller explanation and clearer understanding by the lay-folk. Here again, the procedure is on the lines of the Council of Lambeth. The "Quatuor Sermones" in the "Festyval" were prepared for those who had the cure of souls in the Southern Province, as required by the Constitutions of Archbishop Peckham. They begin in the same way as the York Catechism, with the quotation from the "Master of the Sentences," and resemble it in many other points. It is also noteworthy that the English translator, in treating of the Seven Deadly Sins, follows the order of Peckham's Constitutions, instead of that of the authorized Latin version of the York Convocation: putting Gluttony fourth, and Sloth sixth, instead of the reverse.

Thoresby was evidently anxious that his catechism should be as widely disseminated among the lay-folk as possible, and doubtless this was the reason why he instructed Taystek to cast his translation into the form of verse (unpoetical though it be, and almost devoid of rhymes)—the more easily to be committed to memory. The late Canon Raine hazarded an interesting and ingenious conjecture as to whether he had it performed in the shape of miracle-plays: and in this way introduced these curious representations into the North of England.

It is certain that dogma, as well as history, was illustrated by miracle-plays, strange though it may appear. The text of the Credo or Belief play once acted in York, Dr. Raine thinks, may one day be discovered to have been Archbishop Thoresby's "Instruction." In *Test. Ebor.*, ii. 117, William Revetour of York, Chaplain, bequeathes "fraternitati Corporis Christi in Eboraco quemdam librum vocatum le Credo play, cum libris et vexillis eidem pertinentibus." In the library of the Earl of Ashburnham there was "A poem on the Trinity by William of Nassyngton, a proctor or advocate in the ecclesiastical court of York." Canon Raine conjectures that its date is about a century earlier than that assigned to it, viz. 1480, and that Nassington may have assisted Thoresby in his religious work. A fifteenth century writer (*v.* Dibdin's *Typogr. Ant.*, iii. 257) states that

"Sir William Thorsby, archebishop of York, did do drawe a treatise in Englyshe by a worshipful clerk whose name was Garryk. In the which were conteyned the artycles of belefe, the yij dedly sines, the vij workes of marcy, the x comaundementes; and sent them in small pagyantes to the common people to learne it and to knowe it, of whiche yet manye a copye be in England."

Dr. Shirley quotes a similar statement from a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge:—

"Sire Wiliam Thorisby, erchebishop of ȝork, did do to drawe a tretys in Englisce be a worschipful clerk wos name was Gaytrik, in þe wiche weren conteyned þe articulis of þe feiþ, seuene dedli synnes, þe werkes of mercy and þe ten comandements, and sente hem in smale pagynes to þe comyn puple."—*MS. B.* 14, 50, *Trin. Coll. Camb.* (*Fasc. Ziz.*, ed. Shirley, p. xiii, note.)

Now this word "pagyantes or pagynes" is the term applied to the miracle-plays; and Canon Raine thinks that Thoresby may have "pressed these instructive yet somewhat profane representations into his service, to arrest the attention of the wayfarers in the streets, and please the eyes and ears of the unlettered crowd" (*Fasti Ebor.* I. 470).

But though Thoresby may have made use of miracle-plays in the furtherance of his scheme of popular instruction, yet their first introduction into York would probably date some three-quarters of a century before the putting forth of the *Lay-Folks' Catechism.* The festival of Corpus Christi was instituted by Urban IV. about the year 1263, and observed annually on the Thursday after Trinity

Sunday. The festival was confirmed, according to the Chronicle of Sprott, in the year 1318.[1]

Mr. A. F. Leach has transcribed the Foundation Ordinances of the Corpus Christi Guild of Beverley, *circa* 1330, in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries, March 8, 1894, in which he remarks that this Guild appears to have been one of the earliest in England,[2] and that the pageants and plays which developed out of the procession in honour of the sacrament, were nowhere carried to a more gorgeous length than in Beverley. No small part of a large quarto volume of *Town Ordinances of Beverley* is taken up with regulations as to the order and duties of the various craft guilds, under the rule of the Corpus Christi Guild, in the celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi. The Paternoster Play at Beverley was more like Thoresby's Instruction than the Corpus Christi Play, but did not originate till somewhat later than his time. On May 29, 1469, eighteen crafts of the town agreed to perform this play on Sunday, August 1: the scenes were entitled "Pryde: Invy: Ire: Avaryce: Sleweth: Glotony: Luxurie: Vicious." The earliest mention of a public play in Beverley is in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. (*Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, No. 71, I. 328. See also Mr. A. F. Leach's contribution to the Furnivall Celebration Volume, on "*Some English Plays and Players*," Clarendon Press, 1900.)

In 1313, Edward II. and Queen Isabella were present at a magnificent series of dramatic spectacles of this character in Paris, given by Philip the Fair. Although, as we learn from the researches of Drake (*Eboracum*, p. 230), no notice can be found in the record of the York Corporation relating to the Corpus Christi Festival earlier than May 8, 1388, when "William de Selby, then Mayor, delivered to Stephen de Yolton, 100 shillings, which Master Thomas de Bukton had given for furnishing four torches to be burnt in the procession on the Feast of Corpus Christi," yet in 1394, an order was made that "all the pageants of Corpus Christi should play in the places *antiently appointed*, and not elsewhere, etc.," from which it would appear that the custom was of long standing at that time. In 1397 King Richard II. was present at the festival in York, and it was celebrated with great splendour. The stage was a structure sup-

[1] *Thomæ Sprotti Chronica*, p. 77.

[2] The C. C. Guild at Lincoln was founded in 1350; that at Hull 1358; that at York 1408.

ported on wheels, and the name of pageant was certainly sometimes applied to it; it must have strongly resembled the "pegma" used for a similar purpose in the Roman amphitheatre. The Corpus Christi Guild in York was founded in 1408, but not incorporated till the 37th year of Henry VI. Interesting particulars of these Miracle-plays in York are given in the Appendix to Drake's *Eboracum*, xxix. (London 1736).

There is in the Minster Library at York an old English MS. not much later than Thoresby's time, and covering much the same ground as the *Lay Folks' Catechism*, as may be seen from its preamble:—

"Here bigynneth ye ten commaundementis. Of feith, hope, and charite. The Paternoster. The Ave Marie. The Crede. The werkis of bodili mercy. The werkis of gostly mercy."

In the following letter, it has been supposed that Thoresby refers to the monk of St. Mary's Abbey, Taystek, or Tavistock, who had been rendering the Catechism into English. The supposition appears to lack foundation. But the letter is so graceful in itself, that it may fitly close our notice of the great Archbishop.

Archiepiscopus significat abbati Ebor. qualiter monachus suus jam redit ad monasterium.

Salutem, etc. Venit ad nos, quasi columba suam rediens ad fenestram, confrater vester frater J. de G., commensalis noster carissimus, qui jam in præterito festo Nativitatis Dominicæ nedum Divini verbi pabulo sed gestus honesti modestia tam salubriter quam laudabiliter nos refecit, quem nostri consideratione habere velitis propensius commendatum. Sibi fraternæ caritatis dulcedinem et spiritualioris communionis habundantiam petimus, impendentes per quod nos ad votiva vestra inveniri volumus pro tempore promptiores. Et quia quidam, ut dicitur, murmurant contra eum, fingentes eum quædam sinistra nobis contra vestrum aliquos prædicasse et correctiones in capitulo vestro fieri procurasse, ipsum ab impositis hujus modi sub verbo veritatis plenius excusamus, quia revera super hoc totaliter est immunis, et ideo nullus vestrum sibi improperet ex hac causa. Circa vero principium quadragesimæ ipsum libenter habebimus, nobis ad magnum nostrum solatium assistentem, quem ad hoc licenciare velitis cum scripserimus pro eodem. Feliciter in Domino valeatis.

III. JOHN DE WYCLIF AND THE WYCLIFFITE ADAPTATION.

The text L. in this volume is probably from the hand of the reformer himself. It seems unnecessary to give any lengthy account of Wyclif in this place; for, not to mention sources of information

such as the very full memoirs of Dr. Lechler, two excellent critical summaries of his life and work have been prefixed, the one by the late Dr. Shirley to his edition of the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, and the other by Mr. Matthew to his *English Works of Wyclif hitherto Unprinted* (Early English Text Society, 1880). And yet we may safely assert that, even now, there are very few students of English history who have any idea how great a man he really was :—"second to none in philosophy, and without a peer in the learning of the schools,"—to quote an unfriendly chronicler.[1] In fact, as Dr. Shirley observes :—

"No friendly hand has left us any, even the slightest, memorial of the life and death of the great reformer. A spare, frail, emaciated frame, a quick temper, a conversation 'most innocent, the charm of every rank'; such are the scanty, but significant fragments we glean of the personal portraiture of one who possessed, as few ever did, the qualities which give men power over their fellows. His enemies ascribed it to the magic of an ascetic habit: the fact remains engraven upon every line of his life.

"To the memory of one of the greatest of Englishmen his country has been singularly and painfully ungrateful. . . . Of his works, the greatest, 'one of the most thoughtful of the middle ages,' has been printed twice abroad, in England never. Of his original English works, nothing beyond one or two short tracts has seen the light. . . .[2] If considered only as the father of English prose, the great reformer might claim more reverential treatment at our hands. It is not by his translation of the Bible, remarkable as that work is, that Wyclif can be judged as a writer. It is in his original tracts that the exquisite pathos, the keen, delicate irony, the manly passion of his short, nervous sentences, fairly overmasters the weakness of the unformed language, and gives us English which cannot be read without a feeling of its beauty to this hour."

"It certainly is little known," continues the same writer (Introduction to *Fasc. Ziz.*, xl.), "that Wyclif was the founder of a new order, anticipating in its combination of the regular with the secular element, something of the views of Ignatius Loyola, but in its practical aspect bearing a nearer resemblance to the lay-preachers of John Wesley, such as they were while his strong hand was yet upon them. To be poor without mendicancy, to combine the flexible unity, the swift obedience of an order, with free and constant mingling among the poor, such was the ideal of Wyclif's 'simple priests.' Their coarseness and ignorance, their long russet dress

[1] Knighton, 26. 44.

[2] This was written in 1858. Arnold's *Select English Works of Wyclif* was published in 1869; Matthew's *English Works of Wyclif* in 1880. The Wyclif Society has also for the last nineteen years published yearly one or two volumes of the Reformer's works.

down to the heels, moved the laughter or the wrath of their contemporaries; but, such as they were, they were employed, under episcopal sanction, through what was then the immense diocese of Lincoln, and probably in others also."

The following early notice of the Reformer, cited by Dr. Shirley, will be fitly inserted here:—

"Magister Joannes Wiclevus habebatur a multis omnium ætate sua viventium sanctissimus. Et cum hoc erat corpore macilentus, extenuatus, ac viribus pæne exhaustus, conversationeque innocentissimus. Propterea quamplures hujus regni proceres cum eo sæpius conferentes, eum dulciter amabant, illius dicta scribebant, atque eidem vita inhærebant." (From William Thorpe's *Examination*—Bale, Bodl. MS. E. Mus. 86, fol. 100, r° a.)

Foxe gives the original of the first sentence as "Maister John Wickliffe was holden of full mainie men the greatest clearke that they knew then living, and therewith he was named a passing rulie man and an innocent in his living."

We now come to an important question touching the origin of the Wycliffite adaptation of Archbishop Thoresby's Catechism. Was it a forgery, as Canon Simmons appears to have thought,—interpolating in the Archbishop's work, and in the Archbishop's name, sentiments which he would have repudiated? Or was it put forth with the knowledge, the consent, possibly the co-operation of Thoresby himself? The latter would have been the only honourable course, and we conceive it to be the only true explanation, for the following reasons:—

a. The version appears, as we have said, to have been the work of Wyclif himself. Not to mention the stress laid therein on the importance of preaching (L. 47, 48, 57) and many smaller characteristic touches, peculiar words, etc., which have been pointed out in the notes appended to this volume, there are whole passages which are almost verbally identical with portions of the Reformer's tracts; such as the treatises on the Paternoster (L. 59–161; see note), and the Ave Maria (L. 162–222; see note). The right of parishioners to withdraw their tithes from parsons who fail to perform their duty, is another case in point (L. 688–691; see note); so is the remark upon rich priests (L. 802; see note).

Canon Simmons himself ascribes this work to Wyclif, and has left a note in which he says that the Reformer had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Northern Catechism when he was Rector of Fillingham, in the adjoining county of Lincoln; a benefice

which he held for several years after the Archbishop had put it forth. "We find in the course of it distinct references to several of the 'heresies' which Wyclif is charged[1] with having propounded before he had taken his degree as Doctor of Divinity.[2] And both before that time, while still a Master of Arts, and for some time afterwards, his principal opponent was Cunningham, a Carmelite or White Friar, who subsequently became Provincial of that order in this country, and Confessor of John of Gaunt. At this time Wyclif's efforts seem to have been more in the direction of the reform of ecclesiastical abuses and the amendment of life, than in attacking doctrinal errors; notwithstanding that he had already rendered himself obnoxious to the maintainers of received doctrine, by his statements as to grace, and the exclusion of the foreknown from present membership of the Church on earth; and more especially, although this was not alleged against him, he had begun to realize the paramount authority of Holy Scripture—a discovery destined to be so important in its consequences. I venture to assume (continues Canon Simmons) that the date of L. may be taken to be at this time, and before Wyclif was involved in political movements, and associated with the anti-clerical schemes of John of Gaunt (or, rather the opposition of that prince to the political power of the clergy). It has been assumed by some writers that Wyclif's hostility to the friars cannot be held to have commenced before the time when he came into collision with them over the controversy as to the nature of the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist. But it must not be lost sight of that Wyclif, as a secular priest and head of a secular college, can hardly have escaped the influence of the party-antagonism existing at Oxford between the secular members of the University, whether laymen or clerics, on the one side, and the 'Religious' or 'Regulars' on the other; more especially the friars. This conflict may have tended to prejudice him against the mendicant orders, even if his dislike to them had not been increased by the fact, that they had fallen away from the zeal which had animated them when first introduced into this country; and, whilst they professed that apostolical poverty which was his ideal of the clerical life, they had become even more greedy than the monks, who, from their possession of endowments, were not so open to this temptation."

[1] *Fasc. Ziz.* 2, 3.

[2] In the year 1365 or 1366. He was not D.D. when made Master of Canterbury Hall in 1365.

For these reasons we may assume Wyclif himself to have been the author of our text L. But the notion that Thoresby's approval of it can have been forged appears to us entirely inconsistent with the manly and noble spirit of the great Reformer. Moreover, it was put forth altogether too soon for a forgery to have the slightest chance of success. So impudent an attempt must have recoiled upon the head of its author, and covered his cause with infamy.

b. It may put us on the right scent, while we are investigating this question, to remember that in the Northern Primate and the Oxford Reformer we have two great contemporary Yorkshiremen, both natives of the North Riding, possibly kinsmen (as Canon Raine has suggested); both longing to see a reformation in the lives and manners of the clergy, though it is possible that one may have been in advance of the other in his aims for the purification of religion. Various points of contact between the Archbishop and the family of Wyclif have been brought to light.

Thus, it appears from the Register of the See of York, that in the year 1350–1, at Pentecost, John, son of Symon de Wycliff, was ordained deacon in St. Mary's Abbey at York, and priest in York Minster on the Saturday after St. Matthew's Day, 1351. His title was had from Eggleston Abbey, which is less than three miles from the village of Wycliffe. On August 5, 1365, Archbishop Thoresby granted a licence of non-residence for two years to William Wyclyf, Rector of Wyclyf, to enable him to study. This is, doubtless, the William de Wycliffe, who in 1361 was one of the fellows of Balliol, whilst John de Wyclif was master; and as Canon Raine observes, the licence of non-residence was in all probability to allow him to return to Oxford. He was instituted August 7, 1363, on the presentation of John de Wycliffe, to the rectory of Wycliffe in Yorkshire (MS. Harl. 6978, 1, 2).

When we turn to Ralph Thoresby's account of his great collateral ancestor, the connection becomes closer still: for the historian not only represents the Archbishop as having been actively engaged, like Wyclif, in controversy with the Mendicant Friars, but declares him to have been a close friend of the Reformer himself.

In behalf of the poor vicars in his diocese, who had the cure of souls,[1]

"He that was so great a lover of peace (Archbishop Thoresby) was engaged in controversy with the Friars Mendicants, against whom he wrote,

[1] Ralph Thoresby, *Vic. Leod.* 196.

Processum quendam,	Lib. 1. Pridem Sanctissimus.
Pro docendis Laicis,	Lib. 1. Attendite populi.
Ad Ecclesiarum Pastores,	Lib. 1.

"But what I take to be the Glory of his Age was his English Exposition of the Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, Creed, Sacraments, etc., which he commanded all the Clergy to read diligently unto their Parishioners."

And on p. 198 he speaks of him as "This learned Archbishop (whose only reputed fault was his favour to his Countryman Wickliffe the famous Reformer, amongst whose Friends he is justly named the first)."[1]

The passage alluded to by Ralph Thoresby is the following:— "Hac autem tempestate partium nostrarum adjutorem sese exhibuit haud imbellem *Johannes Wickliffus* (sic), cui annumerandi *Johannes Toresbius*, *Uthredus Boltonus*, de quo supra, p. 65, col. 1, *Nicholaus Herefordus*, *Gualterus Brytus*, *Philippus Norrisius*, aliique haud infrequentes, qui Fratrum argumenta, magno eruditorum plausu convellebant. Sub hæc vero præcipua disputationum materia erat *Paupertas Christi*, quam *Rogerus Conwayus* Minorita in Concione Londini nuper habitâ, talem fuisse contendebat,[2] ut neque ipse neque Apostolorum aliquis quicquam sibi suo nomine vindicarit, verum omnia illi communi quodam jure possederint."[3]

The following is the text of the passage as it occurs in Gutch's edition of 1792 from Wood's original English MS. (p. 475):—

"But as the University had educated champions to deal with them (the Mendicant Friars), viz. Robert Grosstest, Sewallus, Archbishop of York, John Baconthorpe, Richard Chillington and others, so now was John Wycleve ready to succeed in vindicating the quarrel. After him followed John Toresbie, Uthred Bolton, Nicholas Hereford, Walter Bryte, Philip Noreys, with several others, who, with great applause, equalled, if not went beyond, them in their responses."

We can, indeed, scarcely wonder if Thoresby came under the sway of that magic influence which Wyclif exerted upon all who knew him. Friends, neighbours, in early youth, kinsmen possibly, Thoresby being somewhat the older of the two, their intercourse must have been renewed at Oxford, where they both became distinguished scholars. In after years they must often have met about the Court, and when Thoresby became Archbishop of York, the Northern seat of the family of Wyclif was situated in his diocese.

[1] Wood's *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.*, p. 181.
[2] Gulielmus Read de Vitis Pontificum MS., fol. 22.
[3] *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.*, Ant. Wood, Oxonii, 1674.

A petition has recently been discovered in the archives of the Vatican, from the Chancellor and Congregation of Masters of the University of Oxford to the Pope, praying for a grace granting to John de Wyclif *of the diocese of York*, M.A., a canonry and prebend of York Cathedral, notwithstanding that he has the Church of Filingham, in the diocese of Lincoln, value 30 marks. (Petitions to the Pope, vol. i., Stationery Office, 1896.) It seems evident from this petition, that Thoresby had, by this time (1362), found the Reformer of use in his diocese, and wished to reward him with a canonry.

Having much in common in their views and aims, they may have become closely associated in the work of reform. Possibly Wyclif's persuasion that "prelates ought not to be secular lords" may have had something to do with the fact which remains on record that the Archbishop who accompanied the king into France with a retinue of one hundred armed followers, sought in after years to dissociate himself from all secular distractions and cares of state, and to devote himself entirely to the spiritual oversight of his vast diocese and province. The frequent quotation from Holy Scripture, which abounds in the original version of Thoresby's Catechism, may be another sign that Wyclif's influence was at work. It is true that many mediæval treatises quote Scripture; but the reference to it, or to God's law, as of paramount authority, and the essential difference between it and the teaching of the Church, or the witness of tradition, obvious as these things appear to modern theologians, were distinctive of Wyclif's tenets at the time he wrote. Canon Simmons has observed that in the theological literature of that period we find sayings attributed to Our Lord and "other doctors," Canons of Councils, extracts, true or false, from the Fathers, and decrees of Popes, early or recent, genuine or forged,—all cited promiscuously as authorities, apparently without any sense of their different value, and certainly without any attempt at critical examination.

We are, therefore, on all these grounds, fully persuaded that Wyclif asked for and obtained the consent of the Archbishop, at the very least, if not his assistance, in his amplification of the *Lay Folks' Catechism*. There are some passages, doubtless, to which we can scarcely imagine that Thoresby would have given the sanction of his name, such as the stern condemnation of unfaithful prelates: but it was an age of very plain speaking; and the passages may have been strengthened by later copyists.

But a great deal of this, it will be said, is merely conjectural. Be

it so. In this question very much must for ever remain conjectural. But the theory for which I have been contending has at least this merit,—that it does not charge the memory of one of the greatest and best of Englishmen with the commission of a foolish and disgraceful fraud.

§ 2. ON THE DIFFERENCES IN DIALECT BETWEEN THE VERSIONS OF THORESBY AND WYCLIF.

The first thing which strikes us when we come to compare the two versions, is that T. is much more like modern English than L. The reason of this is that the former is essentially a Northern dialect, whereas Wyclif, though originally a native of the North Riding, had lived so long in Oxford, in Leicestershire, and in Lincolnshire, that his writings partake rather of the Midland character. In his translation of the Bible, it is true, there is much to remind us of the dialect of the North Riding at the present day. Canon Raine observes that his father was born within a mile of the village of Wycliffe, and that he had often heard him say that at the beginning of the present century the dialect of the neighbourhood was so identical with the language of the reformer's version of the New Testament, that he would undertake to read any chapter of it to an old person, and it would be understood thoroughly, with the exception perhaps of a word or two. (*Fasti*, i. 462.)

But comparison of these two texts will be found to illustrate the fact that "in the north the inflexions of the older language were as a rule early cast aside, whilst they continued to characterize the southern dialects to a later period. Works written in the north, though of an earlier date, are more like the common English of modern times." The following list of words as they are found in T. and L. respectively will speak for itself:—(the numbers refer to the lines in the former):—

T.	L.
1 shewes	schewys
„ bokes	bokys
9 lastes	lastys
3 creatures[1]	creaturis
23 misdede	mysdedys
3 heuen	heuyn
88 third	thrydde

[1] Dr. Morris observes that *es* in the plural is a test by which Northumbrian may be distinguished from other Northern dialects.

T.	L.
121 maiden	maydyn
108 sondred	sundryd
117 wel·	ywyl
„ angels	angelys
5 skill	skyle
17 made in	mad yn
23 wickednesse	wykkydnesse
166 rightwisenesse	ryȝtwysnesse
27 world	werld
„ first	furst
28 techyng	wyssynge

On the other hand we have the Northern clinging to *a*, where in the Midlands we find *o*; just as Mr. Oliphant says:—"In the North the Active Participle ended in *ande*, the Norse form. In the Midlands it became *ende*, the Old English form; though in Lincolnshire and East Anglia this was often supplanted by the Danish *ande*."

T.	L.
29 lare	lore
8 thas	þo·
15 thai	þey
11 knawing	knowynge
78 swa	so
19 hali saules	holy sowlys
287 hali Gast	holy gost
29 hali kirke	holy chyrche
„ langes till	longys at
422 wrang	wrong
106 awe	owe
155 anely	only
152 ras	roos
161 bathe	bothe
436 faes	foys
451 slauth	slewþe

We find in T. many peculiar Yorkshire words, some of which have not yet become obsolete; thus (l. 150) *whikend* (L. qwyknyd): "It's wick;" "full of little wicks" ("It's alive;" "full of little live things") are still common expressions. *Methe* or *methefulnesse* (T. 440, L. *mesure*,—*i. e.* temperance): *whilk* (T. 170, L. *whiche*): *ilkman* (T. 423: L. *eche man*). In *owen* (T. 164, L. *owne*) we have a mode of pronunciation which still survives in *quite*, usually pronounced *quiet* in Yorkshire: also in *dede* (T. 108, L. deþ) we recognize the still familiar "deadbell," "frightened to dead." In T. 138 we have *doluen*—(buried by digging), where L. has *leyde on a*

toumbe. In the same line we have a still common Yorkshire pronunciation: *tane doune*, where L. has *takyn doun*. In T. 153 we have *stegh* (L. *stey*), i. e. *ascended*. In Yorkshire a ladder is generally called a *stee*: and in the *ligges* for *lies* of T. 358 we have another common word. It is interesting to observe that in T. 258, the *gospel* of L. is spelt *godspel*.

§ 3. ON THE HISTORY OF CATECHETICAL TEACHING.

Although, in modern parlance, the "Instruction" of Archbishop Thoresby may very fitly be termed *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, yet it must be owned that such a name would never have been given to it in his day, nor for long afterwards. The word 'Catechism' is now commonly applied to a book or treatise upon the chief points of Christian faith and practice; especially when intended, as was Archbishop Thoresby's tract, "to serve as a basis for the oral instruction of the young and ignorant by question and answer." But, before the time of Luther, the word never meant a book, but actual verbal teaching by question and answer; eliciting an "echo" or reply; as Bishop Andrews quaintly remarks in his *Introduction to Pattern of Catechistical Doctrine*:—"In κατηχέω is included an iteration, and from ἠχέω we have our word *echo*. Ἠχέω is indeed 'to sound the last syllable,' and of such sounders haply there are enough; but κατηχέω is 'to sound in the whole, after one, again.' And such is the repetition which is required of the right and true κατηχουμενοι, young catechized Christians, and those places are called κατηχεῖς, that give the whole verse or word again."

In the Early Church, however, the instruction was given in the form of a lecture, and the questions were asked by the catechumens rather than by the teacher; and the method was probably derived from the custom of the Jewish Rabbis: the Child Jesus was found "in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions" (St. Luke ii. 46).

We have preserved a set of Catechetical Lectures delivered in Jerusalem by St. Cyril about A.D. 347: just as Bishop Charles Wordsworth entitled his little book of instruction for Confirmation candidates 'Catechesis,' not 'Catechism.'

Irenæus, Tertullian and St. Augustine use the word 'catechise' for instructing in Christianity. The work of the latter, *De catechizandis rudibus* (written about A.D. 400) is not a catechism for children, nor an explanation of the chief articles of the faith. The

'rudes' are those who are entirely ignorant of Christianity; and the teachers are directed how they may best win them over to the religion of Christ. In St. Augustine's *De Fide et Operibus* (*Op.* IV., col. 67) we find the word *Catechism*, not in the least in the sense of a book, but in its proper meaning of detailed oral instruction. He is speaking of St. John the Baptist, who, being asked "What shall we do?" by the multitudes who came out to him, gave them special answers according to their circumstances, and continues:—

"His breviter commemoratis, Evangelista, non enim totos catechismos inserere debuit, satis significavit pertinere ad eum, a quo baptizatus catechizatur, docere et monere de moribus."

Dr. Geffchen, in his work upon *The Illustrated Catechisms of the Fifteenth Century*,[1] gives it as his opinion that this passage may have caused Luther to stamp this word with the meaning which henceforth became its usual one. The great German Reformer felt the need of a theological handbook at an early stage of his work, and put forth from time to time isolated treatises on the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Supper, etc. But it was not until he had been engaged in this work for eight years that he applied to it the name of Catechism.[2]

Having said thus much upon the title of our work, we may now go on to observe, that catechetical instruction has occupied the foremost place in the scholastic methods of the moral and religious teachers of all countries and of all ages. The practice of the Greek philosophers will occur to every scholar:—

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκ τῆς παιδικῆς κατηχήσεως περινοοῦμεν μάλλον ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις, ἢ νοοῦμεν.—Porphyrius, Ὁμηρικῶν ζητημάτων.

The same mode of teaching was prescribed by the law of Moses (Deut. vi. 6, 7, 20; Ex. xii. 26, etc.). Here we have enjoined the earliest form of catechetical instruction, viz. "Catechisatio Domestica," conducted by the heads of families for the benefit of their children and servants. But the Jews also practised the other two

[1] Leipzig, T. O. Weigel, 1855.

[2] He appears first to have made this use of the word in his letters to Nic. Hausmann at Zwickau:—

Feb. 2, 1525. Jonæ et Islebio mandatus est catechismus.

March 26. Catechismus, ut antea dixi, mandatus est suis autoribus.

Sept. 27. Catechismum differo, vellem enim uno opere omnia dissolvere.

The word 'Catechism' had also, especially in the fifteenth century, another signification; viz. that of sponsorship—from the questioning or catechising of the sponsors, which was a necessary preliminary to baptism.

forms of catechising; "Catechisatio Scholastica" by preceptors in schools; and "Catechisatio Ecclesiastica," by priests and Levites in Temple and in synagogue. We may note the instruction given by Levites under the Judges and Kings (*e. g.* 2 Chron. xvii. 7, 8, 9), as well as the "Schools of the Prophets" established by Samuel, who may be regarded as the originator of theological colleges and universities, and to whose students we owe, with the exception of the Pentateuch, nearly the whole of the Old Testament.

Catechetical teaching occupied a prominent position in the admission of proselytes. They were first carefully examined as to their motives for wishing to adopt the Jewish faith. If the result were satisfactory, they were instructed in the principal articles of the Hebrew Creed—the one God, the sin of idolatry, the reward of obedience, the privileges of Israel, the future life, etc. On their acceptance of this creed, they were circumcised, and soon afterwards baptized with their families in the presence of three witnesses, who went on with their instruction while the neophytes stood in the water. (*Maimonides*, Lightfoot, c. 3, v. 6; *Matthew*, f. m. 265, 266 *seq.*; *Lundius*, l. c., p. 1374.)

Jewish children, on reaching the age of twelve years, underwent a course of catechetical instruction, after which they were regarded as personally responsible for their observance of the law, and were termed "Sons of the Precept"; the institution strongly resembling that of Confirmation in the Christian Church.

The Great Teacher continually adopted this mode of instruction:—

"Whom say ye that I am?"

"Whose is this image and superscription?"

"What is written in the law?"

"Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbour . . ?"

"If then, the Christ be David's Lord, how is He his Son?"

"The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men?"

The earliest mention of catechising in the Christian Church occurs in St. Luke i. 4, where the Evangelist declares that he has written this narrative for Theophilus, "ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν."

Concerning the practice of the Apostles, we have the assertion of the learned Cornelius à Lapide, "Apostolorum conciones ferè tantum catecheses." St. Paul wished to speak in a known tongue, "Ἵνα καὶ ἄλλους κατήχησω" (1 Cor. xiv. 19). In Acts viii. 37 we have the first Apostolic Symbolum.

It is probable that there were specially appointed Catechists in the primitive Church (see Eph. iv. 11; 1 Cor. xii. 5, 28; Heb. v. 12, 13, 14; vi. 1, 2). Clemens Romanus won over Theodora and Sisinnius, her husband, to the Christian faith by catechetical instruction. Jerome[1] reports the Evangelist St. Mark to have been the founder of the renowned Catechetical School of Alexandria, which still flourished in the time of Eusebius. In the 3rd century, Pantænus, Clemens Alexandrinus (who left a set of catechetical lectures called Pædagogus), and Origen, successively catechized at Alexandria.

The first well-known teacher of this school was Athenagoras, an Athenian by birth, who lived in the time of the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus. He undertook to write a treatise against the Christian religion, and to this end carefully read the Holy Scriptures. The result was, that from an intending assailant, he became a powerful defender of the Faith, and the head of both the Philosophical and the Catechetical Schools of Alexandria.[2]

No written Catechesis, properly so called, of the first century has come down to us; though it is quite certain that these were symbols like the Apostles' Creed, which formed the basis of oral instruction. The treatises termed Didascalia Apostolorum cannot be properly called Catecheses, although they were frequently read to Catechumens.[3] The Copts had another treatise with the same title.

Justin Martyr's Expositio, the Catechesis of the heretic Eunomius, the Catechesis Magna and Parva of Theodore the Student, the Libri Institutionum of Lactantius, and the treatise of John Damascene, "de Fide Orthodoxa," notwithstanding their titles, are, none of them, Catecheses properly so called, *i. e.* simple and comprehensive summaries for the use of Catechumens.

During the period of the persecutions of Trajan, Hadrian, etc., we find that these attacks upon the Church from without, together with the growth of heresies within, led both to the publication of Apologies, and to the increased importance of catechetical schools. In the extant list of the Catechists of the school of Alexandria,

[1] *De Scriptor. Eccles.* f. m. 188.

[2] Eusebius speaks of Pantænus as preceding him: but it is certain that he followed Athenagoras after a few years; and the latter is the first who is cited as an Alexandrian Catechist.

[3] The *Doctrina Petri*, mentioned by Origen (Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, I. f. m. 666), the *Didascalia* of Clemens Romanus (MS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna), the *Didascalia* of Barnabas, and that of Hippolytus (in the Bodleian), partake of much the same character with the *Pastor of Hermas*.

occurs the name of Clement, of whom his disciple Origen, who became himself an Alexandrian catechist, records that he spent many hours each day in catechizing; and in his three books, *Protrepticus*, *Pædagogus* and *Libri Stromatum*, he appears as a true Catechetical teacher. The first is intended to win heathens to Christianity; in the second, he sets before Catechumens their Christian duties; and in the third, he instructs the more established Christians in the higher mysteries of the faith.

A similar work was carried on at Antioch by Ignatius and Theophilus; at Smyrna by Polycarp; at Athens, Quadratus diligently taught and catechized; and Eusebius asserts that Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, in his Letters to the Lacedæmonians, supplied them with a complete Catechesis in the necessary matters of the faith. Tertullian speaks of adults being catechized before baptism in the Church of Carthage; and Irenæus catechized in his churches. The substance of the Catechetical teaching of the first two centuries, like that of the sermons of St. Peter on the Day of Pentecost, and St. Paul at Athens, would be suited to the intellectual and spiritual needs of converts from heathenism and Judaism. The former would be taught the nothingness of idols, the great truth of the resurrection, and the necessity of forsaking the gross sins to which they had been accustomed, for a new and holier life: while the Jews needed, above all things, to be convinced that our Lord had fulfilled the Messianic prophecies which embodied the hopes of their race. At Carthage, Cyprian, appointing Optatus to the office of Catechist, writes to the presbyters and deacons:—"Fecisse autem me sciatis lectorem Saturum, et hypodiaconum, Optatum confessorem; quos jam pridem communi consilio clero proximo feceramus, quando aut Saturo die Paschæ semel atque iterum lectionem dedimus: aut Optato cum presbyteris, doctoribus, lectoribus *Doctorem audientium* (*i. e.* Catechumenorum) constituimus, examinantes an congruerent illis omnia, quæ esse deberent in his, qui ad clerum parabantur." (22 *Epist.*, L. 3, f. m. 101, ed. Erasmi.)

At Cæsarea in the Holy Land, Pamphilus, a presbyter, and the maternal uncle of Eusebius Pamphilus, founded a Catechetical school of philosophy and theology, which became famous. (Nicephorus, *Hist. Eccl.*, L. 6, c. 37, f. 290.)

At Antioch, the youthful martyrs had been prepared for the sufferings which awaited them by the diligent catechizing of their

bishop, Babylas, himself a martyr. (Cave, *Life*, p. 467; Chrysostom, *Or. de Babyla*, t. 10, V. f. 417.)

The *Expositio Fidei* of Gregory Thaumaturgus is a beautiful treatise on the Holy Trinity, and has survived both in its Greek and Latin versions.

On account of the ridicule cast upon the great Christian verities and rites by the heathen, the teaching of the Catechists was entirely oral: and the Catechumens were not even allowed to assist the memory by taking notes.[1]

In the 4th century, we meet with many notices of catechetical instruction at Constantinople, Alexandria, and elsewhere, as we read the lives and writings of St. Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen (who was assisted in this duty by his wife Nonna), Gregory Nazianzen the Younger, and St. Ambrose. From the Catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem (born about A.D. 315, died March 386) we may learn the doctrines, methods of teaching, and customs of the Church at that time. They consist of a *Procatechesis*, eighteen *Catecheses*, and five *Mystagogices*.

In the 5th century we have many allusions to Catechumens and the instruction needful for them, in St. Augustine. (See especially "Liber de catechizandis rudibus.")

In the 6th century we note the Catechesis of James Baradeus; and the gradual obscuration of the doctrine of Justification by Faith.

In the 7th century, along with the partial destruction of Eastern Christianity by the Mahometans, we find traces of catechetical teaching in the West, as preceding Baptism, etc.

In the 8th century, we have Theodulph's instructions to his clergy upon catechizing, and the writings of the Venerable Bede.

In this century also we have the Symbolum Athanasianum.

In the 9th century the First Council of Mayence, and the Council of Tours (A.D. 813), ordered religious instruction in the vulgar tongue.

From this time, we have increasing light thrown upon catechetical teaching, and more MS. Catecheses have been preserved to us; those who are interested in the subject will find ample references in the

[1] See the close of the sixty-first sermon of Peter Chrysologus, Bishop of Ravenna; similar sayings are to be found in *Cyril. Hieros. Catech.* V., f. 78; also in St. Augustine, Ruffinus, and St. Ambrose.

pages of Langemarke. The *Catechesis Prima* of Michael, Metropolitan of Athens (12th cent.), is to be found in the Bodleian Library.

In the 13th century we have the *Expositio Symboli* of Thomas Aquinas, the *Expositio Orationis Dominicæ* of St. Francis, and Grostête's, *De præceptis decalogi, de articulis fidei, et de Oratione Dominicâ.*

Here it is interesting to note, that in Cantos 24, 25 and 26 of the *Paradiso*, written about the year 1316, Beatrice entreats the Blessed to gratify the longing soul of Dante with a draught of the Divine wisdom. Thereupon St. Peter, St. James, and St. John respectively catechize the poet upon the three virtues, Faith, Hope, and Love. Dante "girds himself as a responding Bachelor" for the examination. The definition of Hope he borrows from the Master of the Sentences.

During the 15th century, children were commonly taught the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, without any explanation, and with the addition of the *Ave Maria* and other prayers to the Saints. But at the commencement of the Reformation, no catechism was used in the schools, but the "Children's Bible" or "Primer," containing the Alphabet, the Ten Commandments, the Belief, and the Lord's Prayer without explanation; and certain other prayers: but the Ave Maria and similar mediæval interpolations, had, in most places, if not in all, been expunged from them.

We now come to the Reformation group of Catecheses, of which the most important are the "Explicatio Symboli, Decalogi et Orationis Dominicæ of John Huss," Luther's Catechism, and the "Church Catechism" in the English "Book of Common Prayer."

Luther complained,[1] that "The old teaching of the faith of Christ, of love, of prayer, of the Cross, of comfort in tribulations, was entirely neglected; in all the world there was hardly a doctor who knew the whole Catechesimum, that is, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Creed, to say nothing of understanding and teaching it, as it is now, thanks be to God, taught and learned even by young children; in proof of which I appeal to all their books, jurists, and theologians. If one portion of the Catechism may be rightly learnt from them, I will let myself be bled, and broken on the wheel!"

[1] *To. V. Altenb.*, f. 208 *b*.

Luther's first Catechism (1520) was not put forth under that name; it was an explanation of the Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. Before this time, various explanations of the Commandments and the Lord's Prayer had been put forth by himself or by his co-workers: for instance, "A Short Form of contemplating the Ten Commandments, and of praying the Lord's Prayer: D. Martin Luther," 1518. It is remarkable that although the Ave Maria is here omitted, because he was conscious of its abuse,[1] yet it is found in "A Little Prayer-Book, and Reading-Book of Martin Luther added to and improved"; in 1529.

His "Greater" and "Smaller Catechisms" were published in 1529.

For an account of other Catechisms of the foreign Reformers, we must refer the reader to Walchius (*Bibl. Theol.*, vol. i.): and the elaborate work of Joh. Geffchen on the Catechisms of the 15th and 16th centuries. (Leipzig, T. O. Weigel, 1855.)

In England, in the year 1536, a set of Injunctions framed by Cranmer were issued by the authority of Henry VIII. Among them was an attempt to revive the practice of catechizing: the clergy were to take care that children should be taught the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in their mother-tongue.

By the Injunctions issued in 1547, the first year of Edward VI., it was directed "That every holy-day throughout the year, when they (deans, archdeacons, parsons, vicars and other ecclesiastical persons) have no sermon, they shall immediately after the gospel, openly and plainly recite to their parishioners in the pulpit, the *Paternoster*, the *Credo*, and the ten commandments in English, to the intent the people may learn the same by heart: exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound by the law of God, and in conscience to do."[2]

The same injunctions also direct "That they shall in confessions every Lent, examine every person that cometh to confession to them, whether they can recite the articles of their faith, the 'Paternoster' and the ten commandments in English, and hear them say the same particularly; wherein if they be not perfect, they shall declare then, that every Christian person ought to know the said things before

[1] 1522. T. II. *Jenens Germ.*, f. 188.

[2] Cardwell, *D. A.*, I. 7. This item was reproduced in the Injunctions of the first year of Elizabeth.—*Ib.*, pp. 213, 214.

they should receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, and monish them to learn the said necessary things more perfectly, or else they ought not to presume to come to God's board without a perfect knowledge, and will to observe the same: and if they do, it is to the great peril of their souls, and also to the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the same."[1]

In 1549, the compilers of the English Prayer Book inserted a Catechism in the Confirmation Service to be learned by candidates as a preparation. It differed but little from the first part of the present Catechism, ending with the explanation of the Lord's Prayer; and has been variously attributed to Dean Nowell, Poynet Bishop of Rochester, and Goodrich Bishop of Ely.

The explanation of the Sacraments was added at the revision of 1604. John Overal, Dean of St. Paul's, afterwards successively Bishop of Lichfield and Norwich, appears to have compiled it from *The Little Catechism* of Dean Nowell,

> "For 's threefold Catechism worthily
> Much honour'd, and for his great charity."[2]

Nowell based the largest of his Catechisms upon Edward VI.'s *Short Catechism* (1552–3), probably compiled by John Ponet or Poynet, Bishop successively of Rochester and Winchester. Poynet had made much use of *The Institution of a Christian Man* (1537), and *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man* (1543). He only slightly touches upon the Sacraments, after the explanation of the Creed. Bishop Jacobson has pointed out that Nowell borrowed largely from the *Catechism of John Calvin* (1541).

Nowell's *Middle Catechism* was authorized to be taught in Grammar Schools to the older, and his *Little Catechism*, which must have been published before 1559, to the younger scholars.[3] At the end of the Confirmation Service in the *Prayer Book* of 1549 we find the following Rubric:—"¶ The Curate of every parish, once in six weeks at the least, upon warning by him given, shall upon some Sunday or Holy Day, half an hour before Evensong, openly in the Church instruct and examine so many children of his parish sent unto him, as the time will serve, and as he shall think convenient, in some part of this Catechism . . . ." Other Injunctions were added

[1] Cardwell, *D. A.*, I. 16.
[2] Verses at end of Fuller's *Life of Nowell*.
[3] See the valuable "Introduction" prefixed by Dr. Groves to his edition of Nowell's *Little Catechism*. (McGee, Dublin, 1878.)

in 1549, 1559, and in the Canons of 1571, and repeated in the 59th Canon in the year 1603.

In the Confirmation Office appended to Herman's "Consultation,"[1] there is a Catechism strongly resembling the Catechism of the Church of England, opening with the Baptismal Covenant. But Dr. Groves[2] has pointed out that in this respect, Marshall's Prymer or "Dialogue, wherein the child asked certain questions, answereth to the same," is earlier than either; there is an extant edition of it certainly not later than 1534. Its author has been supposed to be Cuthbert Marshall, Archdeacon of Nottingham, but it probably derived its name from the bookseller, and Strype ascribes it to Cranmer. Dr. Groves observes that it contains the first rude drafts of many of the hymns and prayers of the present English Liturgy.

§ 4. APPENDIX.

The following list of works bearing upon Catechisms and their History is prefixed by Langemark to the second volume of his *Historia Catecheticæ* (Stralsund, 1733).

D. Valent. Alberti, Prof. Lips. dissertatio theologica-practica *de Catechesi*, Resp. M. Clem. Thime. Lips., 1688.

Anon. *Deliciæ Catecheticæ.* Dresden, 1704. 8.

Gottfr. Arnold's Kirchen- und Ketzer-Historie. P. II. lib. 16.

M. Leonh. Bohmri Institt. Theologiæ Catecheticæ. Altd. 1722. 4.

D. Jo. Franc. Buddei historia catechetica in Schamelius Vindic. Catech. Leipzig, 1726. 8.

Ejusd. Isagoge historico-theologica. Lips., 1727. 4.

D. Jo. Ben. Carpzovii disput. Ad librum Augustini de Catechizandis rudibus, 1688. Lips. hab. quæ inter disput. ejus Acad. est 19. Lips., 1699. 4.

Gottfreunds (*i.e.* Gottfried Dexelii) Deliciæ Catecheticæ. Dresden und Leipzig, 1701. 8.

Jo. Ge. Eccardi Catechesis Theotisca. Hannov. 1713. 8.

Andr. Fabricii Oratio de Catechismo, 1569.

M. Caspar Fiedlers, Archid. in Rochlitz erleuchteter Catechismus-Prediger. Leipz. 1689. 8. 1. Alph. 3 pl.

D. Georg Henr. Goetzeus Catechismus. Bibliothec. Leipzig und Budissin, 1722. 4.

[1] Drawn up by Bucer and Melancthon, 1543.
[2] Introduction to his edition of Nowell's *Little Catechism*, p. xxi.

Joh. Christ. Hungers Pentalogus deliciæ catecheticæ. Dresden, 1716, 1718. 8.

Andr. Hyperii de catechesi lib. cum præf. Joh. Andr. Schmid, de Schola Alexandrina Catechetica. Helmst. 1704. 8. pl. 6.

M. Jo. Henr. Krause de catechesi primitivæ Ecclesiæ, 1704.

Jo. Meisneri Examen Catechismi Palatini. Witteb. 1669. 4.

Jo. Christoph. Meureri Isagoge in theologiam catecheticam s. apparatus catechetici Idea.

L. Jo. Phil. Oheims (Superint. zu Borna) catechetica.

Ambrosii Rendenii Oratio de usu catechisma habita in promotione duorum doctorum Theologiæ. 1594. 4. Inserta est actui promotionis D. Schlüsselburaii & Balth. Mölleri.

Joh. Mart. Schamelii vindiciæ catecheticæ. Leipzig, 1726. 8.

Ejusd. Supplementa. Leipzig, 1727. 8.

Jo. And. Schmid. Progr. de Catechesi Racoviensi. Helmst. 1724.

D. Jo. Ge. Walchii Introductio historica & theologica in Libros Symbolicos Ecclesiæ Lutheranæ variis observationibus illustrata. Jen. 1732. 4. 6. Alph.

D. Mich. Waltheri Prof. Witt. Disp. de catechisatione veterum. Wittenb. 1688. 4.

D. Mich. Walthers, General-Sup. zu Zell, Gloria Catechismi. Nürnberg. 1645. 12.

D. Christian Frid. Wilisch historiæ catecheticæ delineatio, una cum Syllabo autorum catechetichorum. Altenb. 1717. 4.

Ejusd. Princeps Sax. de Catechismo Lutheri bene meritus ib. in Jubilio Altenb.

D. Christoph. Heinrich Zeibichs von der Weimarischen Catechismus-Historie. Weimar, 1727. 8.

The Lay Folks Catechism.

I. (T) The English of Archbishop Thoresby's Instruction or Catechism for the People, from the authentic copy in his register at York.

On the upper part of the even, or left-hand, pages.

II. (C) The Original Latin of No. I, as approved by the council or convocation of the clergy of the diocese and province of York, A.D. 1357, from Thoresby's register.

III. (L) A Wycliffite Adaptation of the Catechism, with latin rubrics, put forth under the name of Archbishop Thoresby, from the Lambeth MS., no. 408; and additions [*within brackets*] from York Minster MS., XVI. L. 12.

On the upper part of the odd, or right-hand, pages.

IV. (P) The Corresponding Canons of the Council of Lambeth, under Archbishop Peckham, A.D. 1281.

The Lay Folks Catechism.

[fol. 295] The Master of the Sentences proves

T. Is that a gret clerk shewes in his bokes,
[*A*] Et est *secundo sententiarum* distinctione prima,
Of all the creatures that god made in heuen,
And in erthe, in water, or in ayre, or in ought elles,

that the goodness of God was the cause of the whole creation.

The soueraigne cause and *the* skill whi that he made thaime,
Was his owen gode will and his godenesse.
Thurgh whilk godenesse, als he is all gode,

God, desiring some of his creatures to share in everlasting bliss,

He wold *that* som creatures of thas that he made
Were communers of that blisse that euermor lastes.
And for no creature might come to that ilk blisse
Withouten knawing of god, als that clerk techis,
—ubi supra—

gave reason to angels and men,

He made skillwise creatures, angel and man,
Of witt and of wisdome to knaw god al-myghten,

by which to know and serve him.

And, thurg *thair* knawing, loue him *and* serue him;
And so come to that bliss that thai were made to.

This knowledge of God Adam and Eve had of His gift;

This maner of knawying had oure forme-fadyr
In *the* state of innocency that thai were made in,

but to us, their children, by

And so shuld we have had, if *thai* had not synned,
Noght so mikell als hali saules has now in heven,
Bot mikel mare than man has now in erthe:
For our forme-fadirs synned, sais the prophet,

C.[1] ¶ **JOHANNES permissione divina, &c.,** dilecto filio Archidiacono nostro, &c., salutem, gratiam et benedictionem.

¶ Quia nonnulli Christi fideles, quibus, licet immeriti, præsidemus, non sunt, quod dolenter gerimus, saltem in grossis et necessariis

[1] fol. 297 *b*.

[fol. 1]

Latin heading set before the interpolated catechism, with a false claim to the indulgence of Archbishop Thoresby.

L. Mandatum *domini* **Johannis de Thoresby. Eborum Archiepiscopi Rectoribus. Vicarijs tocius prouincie sue ad predicandum parochianos illorum & predictus dominus Johannis concessit omnibus adiscentibus istud mandatum .xl. dies indulgencie.**

Thema. Attendite populo meus Inclinate aurem vestram in verba oris mei.//

As a gret clerk tellys *and* schewys in his bokys.
Of alle þe creaturis þat god made in heuyn

and in erthe in wat*er and* in eyre. or in ou3t ellys.
þe sou*er*ayne cause *and* þe skyle why he made hem

Was his owne god wyl *and* his goo[*d*]nesse.
thorw þe whiche godnesse. as he ys al good.
he wolde þat sum creat*ur*is of þo þat he made
were comm*e*neris of þat blys þat euyr lastys.
And for no creature mi3t come to þat blys
wit*h*oute knowynge of god as þe clerk techys.

he made skylful creaturis as angelys *and* man
of wit *and* of wisdom to know god almy3ty.
and thorw3 his knowy*n*ge loue hym *and* ser*u*e hym
and so come to þat blysse / þat þey were made to.
This man*er* of knowy*n*ge had oure former faderys
in þe stat of innocence. þat þey were mad yn.
þat we schuld haue had: yf þey had not synned.
But not so-mokyl as holy sowlys haue now in heuen.
but mochyl more þen any man has now in erthe.
For oure form*er* faderis synned says þe pr*o*phete.

P. Nos Frater *Johannes* permissione Divina *Cantuarensis* Archiepiscopus, totiusque *Angliæ* Primas, præsentibus cupientes incommodis obviare: sperantes, quod Christi patrocinante gratia, ad hoc nos
4 posse proficere cum Fratrum ac Episcoporum nostrorum, ac cætero-

reason of their sin, Lam., v, 7.

T. And we bere *the* wickednesse of thaire misdede.
—Treno*rum* ultimo—
For *the* knawing that thai had of god almighten,
Thai had it of goddes giftt at thaire begynnyng
With-outen t*ra*vaile or trey or passyng of tyme;
And all *the* knawyng þat we have in þis world of him,

this knowledge comes only by teaching,

Is of heryng, and leryng and techyng of othir,
Of *the* lawe and þe laȝe þat langes till halikirke,
The whilke al creatures that loues god almighten

but is needful to never-ending bliss.

Awe to knawe and to kun, *and* lede þaire lyue aftir;
And so com to *tha*t bliffe *tha*t never more blynnes.
And forthi that mikill folke now in *thi*s world

Many are ignorant of this,

Ne is noght wele ynogh lered to knawe god almighten,
Ne loue hi*m*, ne se*r*ue him als thai suld do,
Als thaire dedis ofte sithe openly shewes,
In grete peril of thaime to lyue and to sawle,

and the fault may be in the clergy, who are bound to teach them.

And pe*r*auenture *the* defaitor in thaime,
That has thaire saules to kepe, and suld teche thame,
Als p*r*elates, p*a*rsons, vikers, and p*r*estes
That er halden be dette for to lere thame—

Archbishop Thoresby, after the example of Christ, is desirous of the salvation of all.

Oure fadir *the* Ercebishop, *tha*t god almighten saue,
That als saint Paule sais of Ie*s*u crist,
—Paulus ad Thimo*theum* se*cundo* ca°.—
Will that al men be saufe *and* knawe god almighten,

C. Christianæ legis observantiis instructi, quod tam ex nostra, quam ex rectorum, vicariorum, et sacerdotum parochialium, qui ipsos juxta susceptæ curæ debitum haberemus instruere, incuria, ne dicamus ignorantia, dicitur evenire; per quod (quod Deus avertat) de facili, via patere potest erroribus, et gravibus periculis animarum.
Nos volentes, ut tenemur, super hoc remedium apponere salutare,

L. *and* we bere þe wykkydnesse of þair mysdedys.

for knowing þat þey hadde of god almyȝthy:
þey hadde yt of goddys gyfte at þare begynnynge
withowte travayl or tray or passynge of tyme.
And al þe knawynge þat we haue in þis werld of hym
ys of herynge *and* larnynge. *and* wyssynge of othyr.
of þe lawe *and* þe lore þat longys at holy chyrche.
þe whyche alle creaturis þat loue god almyȝty
owe to knowe *and* lede here lyf þeraftyr.
and so come to þat blys þat neuer schal haue ende.
and for þat now mekyl folk in this world.
ys not wel lernyd to knowe god almyȝty.

ne loue hym ne serue hym. as þey schold do.
as þayr dedys often tyme opunly schewys
in gret perel of þaym to lyf *and* to sowle.
and paraventure þe cawse may be in ham:
þat han here sowlys to kepe. *and* schulde teche þaym
as prelatys. persons. *and* vycars. *and* oþer prestys.
þat haue take þat offyce. *and* ar holdyn be dette to lere þaym.
And no prestts *may be excusid ffor be trew dette þey holdyng to teche þaym
And þerfore oure fadyr þe archiepyschop wylle þat alle men knowe god
and be saf. for Seynt **Poul.** seys of god:

[fol. 1 b] Priests cannot be excused from teaching; and the Archbishop desires that all men should have the knowledge of God, according to what St Paul says of our Lord.

þat iesu wylle þat alle men be saf *and* know god almyȝty.

P. rum nostræ Provinciæ Prælatorum assistentia efficaci, de prudentum virorum consilio hoc Sacrum Concilium mandavimus convocari.

Ignorantia Sacerdotum populum præcipitat in foveam erroris, et clericorum stultitia vel ruditas, qui de fide Catholica mentes
9 fidelium instruere jubentur, magis aliquando ad errorem proficit,

T. And namely thas underloutes that to him langes,
Has treted and ordayned for com*m*une p*r*ofet,

With advice of his Convocation he requires all curates to teach and preach publicly in English.

Thurgh the consaile of his clergie,
That ilkane that vndir him has kepynge of saules,
Openly on Inglis opon sononndaies
Teche and p*r*eche thaim, that thai haue cure of,
The lawe and the lore to knawe god all-mighten,
*Th*at principali mai be shewed in *th*is sex thinges:
In þe fourtene poyntes that falles to *th*e trouthe;

C. sacro approbante cleri nostrarum diœcesis at provinciæ consilio, super hoc sic duximus ordinandum, ut quilibet rector, vicarius, capellanus parochialis et curatus alius, saltem diebus dominicis, sine exquisita verborum subtilitate exponant, seu exponere faciant, populo in vulgari

L. *and* namely þe vndirlynges *þat* to hym longys.
and *perfore* he has tretyd *and* ordeynyd for þe comyn profyt
thorowȝ þo conseyl of hys clergy
þat eu*er*ych *þat* vndyr hym has kepyng of sowlys
opunly on englysch vpon sundays
*pr*eche *and* teche ham: þat þey haue cure of.
þe lawe *and* þe lore to knowe god almyȝty *and* hys werkys.

Pater noster. qui es in celis. The Lord's Prayer

We schuH be-leue *þat þis* pat*er* nost*er*.
þat crist hym self techis to alle *cr*istyn men.
passys o*þer* prayers in these thre thyngis. surpasses other prayers
In auctorite. In sotylte. *and* p*r*ofyt to his chyrche.
Hyt passis in auctorite. For *cr*ist hym self boþe god *and* man: in original authority,
made yt *and* tauȝt hyt: for *cr*istyn men to vse hyt.
And he ys most of auctorite as our*e* be-leue techis vs.
And here-fore þe gospel of **Mathew.** seys *þat cr*ist bad vs pray thus. MT. 6°.
Hyt passys also in sotylte. For we schulle vndyrstonde. subtile wisdom,
þat in þese vij ask*yng*kys are conteyned
alle þe poyntys of *þis* world in þe whiche is ony wyt
And so schortly to comp*r*ehend so moche wyt in playn wordys

P. quam ad doctrinam. Quidam etiam cæci non semper loca visitant, quæ magis constat veritatis lumine indigere, testante propheta qui ait, quod *Parvuli petierunt panem nec erat qui frangeret*:—Threnorum Ieremiæ, IV, 4—et alio clamante, quia *Egeni et pauperes quærunt aquas, lingua eorum siti aruit.* Esaiæ, li, 17.

15 In quorum remedium discriminum statuendo Præcipimus, ut quilibet sacerdos plebi præsidens quater in anno, hoc est, semel in qualibet quarta anni, una die solenni vel pluribus, per se vel per alium, exponat populo vulgariter absque cujuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica

T. (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

L. ys a sotylte of god passyng þe wyt of man.

and advantage in using. The þrydde we schulle suppose *þat* no prayer in þe world
is more *profi*table to man sythen *þat* crist hym self schal here al.

First Petition. ¶ The fyrst askynge of *þis* pa*ter* noste*r* stondis in þese wordis

75 **Our fadyr *þat* art in heuyn: halwyd be *þy* name.**
In whyche wordys. we mow lerne *þat* men worthy to be herd:
must be knyt in charite. *and* meknese of herte.
sythen al þe holyte (*sic*) *tri*nite ys fadyr of vs alle
and holy chyrche is modyr. we schulde loue as bre*þern*.

80 **And** sethen god ys so hy3 in heuyn a-boue al his angelys.
and we be so low in erthe. wrappid *with* many myscheuys./
we schulde be resou*n* be meke *and* buxu*m* to *þis* lord
and mekely pray to oure fadyr **þatt halwyd be his name.**
So as his name ys halowyd nedlych in hym-self:

85 so be hys name halwyd. *and* stedfast in oure sowle.
For whan oure sowle was mad to lyknesse of þe *tri*nte:
goddis hy3 name was *pr*entyd *þeryn*.

The second Petition. The secu*n*de askynge of *þis* prayer. stondys in these wordys.

Thy reme come to þe, in-to þe blysse of heuyn.

[fol. 2] 90*In so as þe furste askynge. answerys to þe fadyr:
so þe secu*n*de askynge a[*n*]swerys to þe sone.
For he ys *þat* nobyl man. *þat* com down in-to erthe
to gete hy*m* a Reme. *and* aftyr to turne a3en.
The Reme of *þis* fadyr ys callyd Holy chyrche.

L. þat at þe day of dome schal go hennys in-to heuyn
¶ The thrydde askynge. seyth þus **Be thy wylle** Third Petition.
don.
as yt ys fully don in hevyn: so be yt don in
erthe.
And *þis* thrydde askynge. answeris to þe holy gost
ffor he ys good loue of þe ffadyr. *and* of þe sone.
And al-thaw þese askyngys most nedelynge be
fulfyllyd:
natheles mannys sowle ys lyfte vp *with* charite
with desyre heyȝed *with* god. *and* þat ys a prayer
Thus we seye blyssyd be god. *and* oþer thyngys
þat nedis mot be
And þese thre askyngys: arn to þe holy Trinite.
And þerfore we schape oure wordys only to god.
The secunde part of *þis* prayer conteynes foure Fourth Petition.
askyngys.
Furst we preye oure fadyr *þus*
Fadyr oure eche day bred gyf vs to day. Food
And þis may be wel vndirstonde: on þre manerys.
¶ as seynt Austyn seyþ be wit of god almyȝthy.
Furst we aske oure bodely fode: for to serue oure for the body;
fadyr.
aftyr we aske þe sacrament to haue mende of oure in the Eucharist;
Fadyr.
And aftyrward we aske goddys word to fede *with* in God's word.
oure sowle.
And for we haue nede of alle þese yche day:
þerfore crist callys hem oure eche day bred.
and for we schulde be trewe: *and* ete oure owne
bred:
[*And not in wrong ete our neeghboris breed*]
þerfore crist techis vs to aske of hym oure bred.
And for crist wolde þat oure hope were freschyd
in hym:
oure thogth *and* oure mynde. *and* alle oure desyre:

T. (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

L. þerfore he byddys vs aske þis mete of hym to day

The fifth Petition. ¶ The secunde part of þis askyngge (*askynge of þis part*) sewyþ in þese wordys.

For-ʒeue vs oure dettys: as we do to oure dettours.

These dettys þat we owe to god: ar seruyse þat we owe to hym.

And as ofte tymes as we fayle: we renne in-to dette of peyne.

and but god for-ʒeue vs þis dette of synne:

we be nat worthy to haue auʒt of oure fadyr.

And for god wyl þat we loue oure breþeryn.

he knyttys to a condicioun vndyr whyche: we aske þis bone.

þat he schulde forʒeue vs oure dettys; as we forʒeue oure dettowrys.

So þat ʒif we be vn-mercyful to men þat be oure dettours

[fol. 2b] trist we to oure fadyr *þat he wyl punysche vs.

And so we praye oure hyʒe iuge aʒens oure owyn hed.

But vndirstonde we. þat we mowe lefully

aske of oure broþern dette of erthelyche thyngys.

but þis askynge mot be in resoun *and* charite.

And þan yt [*is*] for charite *and* loue *and* profyt to oure neyʒebore.

and here we mot fle bothe rancour *and* hate.

and envye to oure [*neyʒbore*] *with* oþer schrewde castys

¶ The thrydde askynge of þis part swyt in these wordys./

Oure Fadyr lede vs nat in temptacioun.//

Soþ yt ys þat crist was temptyd. *and* god temptys man for loue.

L. But hard it ys *and* greuo*us* peyne to be lad in
tem*p*tacio*un*.
For whan man of his foly. in-to myre of synne
fallys.
Ryȝt juge*me*n*t* of god wol make hym synke deppyr./
And herfor*e* we pray hy*m* *our* fadyr
*þa*t he lede vs nat in-to *þi*s hardnesse of synne
lest we come neuer owt.
And herfor*e* þe laste askynge sewyþ in þese wordis. The seventh Petition.
But graci*us* fadyr delyu*er*e vs fro euyl.
The worst þynge in *þi*s world is wykkydnesse of
synne.
Sytthe a man for noþy*n*ge schulde wylle to do
synne:
sythen for al *þi*s world. ne nogtȝ *þer*-yn schuld ony
man do synne.
But sythen su*m* synnes be moche werse þan su*m*:
**In *þi*s last askynge we pray delyu*er*au*n*ce of þe
werste synne.**
The werst synne ys þe deuelys synne
*þa*t man deyes yn w*ith*oute repentau*n*ce.
*þa*t euyr schal be punyschyd. and *þa*t callys þe
gospel:
synne aȝenst þe holy gost.
God for his grete m*er*cy: kepe vs fro *þi*s euyl.
And þan schul*en* we haue eu*er*-lastyngge fredam.
Amen.

Aue Maria.

The Angelic Salutation to the Blessed Virgin

Men gretyþ comu*n*ly oure lady goddys mod*er*
and we suppose *þa*t *þi*s gretynge sauys many a man is laid down as being a means of salvation.
For we take as be-leue. *þa*t sche ys blyssyd in
heuyn.
And c*ri*st wyl do at hyr prayynge amo*n*g al oþyr seyn*t*ys. Christ will answer her prayers as those of other saints for men that are worthy.
And þow we trow *þa*t noþ*er* crist ne sche
wil do for man but yt be resonable.

T. (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

L. and men þat ben worthy to be holpyn.
And so mow men triste to be holpyn fully in suche prayer.

The Salutation is made up of

170 In þre partyes comunlyche þis gretynge ys dyuydyd.
The furst part contenys þe wordys of Gabriel.

the greeting of the angel,

whan he seyde to þis lady.
Heyl ful of grace: god is with the.

[fol. 3]

The secunde part of þis gretynge *buth wordys
þat Elysabeth spake to hyr whan sche sayde.

the blessing of Elizabeth,

175 Blyssyd be þou amonge wommen. and blyssyd be
þe fruyt of þy wombe.

and two words tacked on.

The þrydde part has two wordys clowtyd for
deuocyoun. Maria. and Iesus./

The name of Mary left out to prove the familiarity of Gabriel.

Furst men seyn. Heyl Marie þat gabryel lefte in
his gretynge
to teche vs þat he was homly and knowyn with
þis lady.
and þerfore wold he not nempne þis name of marie.

The name of Jesus, Saviour, left out, for Mary had no other son; and He did not die for our salvation till afterwards.

180 The secunde word ys **Iesvs.** addyd to elyzabethis
wordys
and þis word lefte þe gospel here. to teche þat
marye hadde but on child.
and þis child was iesus. þat is sauiour of man-kynde.
But þis fyl longe [*aftyr*] þat oure lady was gret þus.

Ave read backwards in Eva; hence a contrast.

The furste word. þat is aue. reuersys þe name
of Eua

185 to teche vs þat oure lady contraryyd Eue in levynge.

Adam and Eve brought men under condemnation, from which our Lord and His mother saved them.

For ryzth as Adam *and* Eue were cause of dampnynge of man-kynde:
So iesus *and* Marie þen cawse of mannys saluacioun.

Grace of three kinds:

The secunde word of þe angel seys. oure lady was
ful of *grace*.
And man may þe ful of *grace* on thre maneris be
godys lawe.

L. **F**urst of hym-self. as *crist* was þe furst qwyk welle of grace. — In Christ as the well-spring;

for of hym spronge *grace* to alle men aftyr hym.

Our lady was ful of grace as a stronde ful of watyr [*And*] gaf grace ple*n*teo*us* bo*þe* to o*þer* me*n* *and* wo*m*men. — in the Blessed Virgin as a channel to others;

Sey*n*t Steuyn was ful of *grace* þ*at* sufficyd to his lyf for to bryng hym to blysse. — in St. Stephen sufficient unto his life's end.

195 *and* so be many o*þer* seyntys. and so god ys w*ith* alle creaturis.

But specialy w*ith* men þ*at* schul be sauyd.

But more specialy w*ith* þe chau*m*byr of his ma*n*hed þ*at* was oure lady marie.

But bothe þe Angel *and* **Elyzabeth seyde þ*at* oure lady is blyssid** — The words of Gabriel and Elizabeth both declare the blessedness of Saint Mary.

a-mo*n*g alle wo*m*men þ*at* be for genderyng of seche a child.

200 **A**nd so þe be-gynny*n*ge *and* þe endynge schuld be blessynge of i*esu*.

þ*at* is froyt of þe wombe of oure lady sey*n*t Marie.

The þridde part of þ*is* gretynge addis two wordys to þe gospel — The added words good in themselves,

þ*at* ben Maria *and* i*esus* *and* two devowt wordis.

But for it ys hard to men to grou*n*de he*m* leue. to addé þ*is*. — but the addition to the written word is questionable,

205 sythe godis lawe seys þ*at* me*n* schulde nat vp-on gret peyne.

adde to goddys word.

Hit ys seyd þ*at* þe pope gefys gret pardou*n* to men þ*at* addys þese wordys. — though the Pope does grant an indulgence for it.

and be þe same skyle þ*at* me*n* schuld t*ri*ste to eny pardou*n*:

men schuld t*ri*ste to þ*is* pardou*n*. be yt four score dayes or more.

210 And as þe pope may ȝeue þ*is* p*ar*dou*n* be addy*n*gge of þese two *wordys. — And if this indulgence, then [fol. 3 *b*]

T. (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

he may corrupt God's word.

L. so may he adde oþer mo. *and* *with*-drawe as hym-self lykys.
and so turne godys lawe: in-to lawe of antecrist.

Either this, or there was a defect at the first.

Oþer men moste graunt þis way. or say þat þis was furst [*a*] defawte kept to þe pope to amende.
And herfore thynkys men þat þe wordys of þe gospel
were wysly set in þe gospel *with*-owte varyynge.

Besides, if indulgences are granted in this way, why not—it is asked *ad absurdum*—to any extent?

And many men thynkys ouer [:] 3if suche pardoun myȝt be grauntyd lyȝtlyche
with lasse travayle yt schuld be grauntyd generaly
to men þat devowtly sey þese names.
And so myȝt pardoun be gotun to sey yche day a lady sawter:
[*3he.*] ten þowsand 3er in on 3ere./

The words of the gospel are enough for us; and so let us honour Mary to the most of our power.

Trust we to þe wordys of þe gospel. and worschipe we Marie *with* al *our* myȝt. **Amen.**

Faith is the foundation of all virtues; hence the value of the three Creeds. As to the Apostle's Creed,—

Hyt ys soþ. þat beleue is ground of alle vertues. and þerfore eche cristyn man schulde be sad in beleue.
Ther be þre credys in þe chirche.
Crede of þe apostelys. *and* Crede of þe chyrche.
and Crede of attanasy. þat was a gret doctour.
But of þe fyrste Crede schulde cristyn men speke.
For yt is more comyn and more schortyr þan eny oþer.

† York MS. omits.

Ne bysy we vs nat what †þe† apostyl made.

† York MS. omits.

†ne† what party of þis holy Crede. *and* whan þe apostelys gaderyd yt.

whichever apostle made the several parts, or when,—God ordained it all for our learning.

For oure beleue techis ys þat god ordeynyd hyt al.
and bad þat men schuld cun hyt *and* teche yt to oþer

Failing their spiritual Superiors,

And 3if prelatys fylyn in þis Crist seyde þat stonys schulde crye

L. and secler lordys schuld in defawte of *pr*elatys lerne *and pr*eche þe law of god in here modyr tonge. — temporal lords must teach the Scripture in English.
Ne study we nat how many p*ar*tyes ben in þ*is* holy crede.
For soþ it is: þ*at* alle þese p*ar*tyes ben co*n*tenyd in thre. — Three chief truths in the Creed,
And herfore me*n* seyn þrys: þ*at* þey trow in god./
Fyrst þey trow in þe Fadyr. for he ys [þ*e*] fyrst p*er*sone.
Aftyr þey trow in Ie*su* cr*ist*. be dyue*rs* artyclys.
and sytthe þey trow in þe holy gost.
And eche on of þese thre p*ar*tyes conte*n*ys many p*ar*tyclys (*artycles*).
But we schul wele wyte: þ*at* þese thre thyngys ben wel sotel *and* diue*rs*. — and three kinds of believing:
Trow in god. *and* [*trow*] to god.
and trow god þ*at* ys þe leste.
þ*at* man levys in god: þ*at* cleuys to him be charite. — faith in God by love;
and þus eche man þ*at* ys in hed synne. is owt of his beleue.
That man trowys to god. þ*at* beleuyþ — belief in His righteousness;
þ*at* he is trewe *and* ry3tful in al þyng þ*at* he seyþ.
And þ*us* do vnkende men þ*at* trow not in hym.
That man trowys god: þ*at* trowys þ*at* he ys. — belief in His being.
and so do *deuelys þ*at* trow not in hym. [fol. 4]
The fyrst part of þ*is* Crede: conteynys þre artyculys. — God, the Father
Furst þ*at* men schulde trow in þe fyrst p*er*son
þ*at* ys þe fadyr of heuyn and power of god.
and so schulde men trowe þ*at* he is al-my3ty. — almighty,
So if he wyl au3t be don: he dos hit whan hym lykys.
and so þe thridde artycule stondys in þ*is*. — maker of heaven and earth.
þ*at* he made of no3t boþe heuyn *and* erthe.
and 3it schul men trow þ*at* al-my3ty ys come*n* to þre p*er*sonys. — The attribute of almightiness common to the three Persons,
Al-my3ty ys þe fadyr. Al-my3ty ys þe sone.

T. (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

L. And al-myȝty ys þe holy gost. ȝit schul not men trowe.

but these three are one God.

þat þese ben thre almyȝty goddys / but on god almyȝty./

As to Jesus Christ,

The secunde part of þis Crede. be-gynnys at *iesu* crist. *and* towchis xiiij. artyculis þat stondis in ordre.

He is the Word of God, became Man, in the perfection of His Godhead.

Furst men schuld trow in goddys word. or his sone. Aftyr men schuld trow. þat he becom man stondynge his godhed þat he myȝt not lese.

He is the only begotten son of the Father, and of one substance with Him:

The thridde tyme we schuld trow. þat þe fadyr of heuyn has but on suche sone euyn *with* hym in kende. *and* þis ys Iesus oure lord. be godhed *and* be manhed. sythen he made vs of noȝt. and bowȝt vs fro synne.

conceived by the Holy Ghost; not naturally ingendered;

The iiij articule of þis parte seys þat crist was conseyuyd of þe holy gost. nat as oþer men gete childryn be kynde. Sethyn þis person ys no man: but þe holy gost./ þe whyche ys lyf [*loue*] be sum propyrte. *and* most tokyn of lyf [*loue*]: þat god wold schewe to man was. þat he wold take oure kende. *and* be-come oure broþer./ *and* þerfore we beleue þat oure lord *iesu*: was conseyuyd of þe holy gost. *with*-owte mannys genderynge.

miraculously born of the Virgin Mary.

The fyfte tyme we schuld be-leue. þat oure lord iesu was born of þe virgyn Marie. as of his owne modyr. þat was euer virgine *with*-owte knowynge of man. al-þow crist tok of hire / matere of hys body./ and sethyn sche norischyd hym *with*ynne as oþer childyr ar norschid.

But he went out of here body be myracle. as he was formyd.

L. The vj tyme we schul trowe þat. aftyr. xxxij^{ti}. 3er^{s} he suffrid hard passioun vndir pounce pilate. — Suffered under Pontius Pilate.

for to by man-kynd and mayntene trewthe.

and so he was don on þe cros. *and* aftyr ded *and* beryyd. — Crucified, dead, and buried.

sethen his sowle went to helle *and* tok owt þe sowlys — Descended into hell.

þat he ordeynyd to saue^{s} be-fore þis world was made.

and sethyn vp-on þe thrydde day his sowle com to his body — Rose again the third day.

*and qwykyd hyt as be-forn. And ros owt of þe sepulcre. — [fol. 45]

and sethyn whan he hadde efte tyme. schewyd to his disciplis his resurrecciouⁿ.

he steyȝ vp to heuyn as þey saw opunly. — Ascended into heaven.

and þer he syttys now in best sete þat may acorde to man.

an þat ys callyd þe ryȝt syde of god þe fadyr. — Sitteth at the right hand of the Father,

and at þe laste he schal come douⁿ here to man. — from whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

and jugge sum to blysse. *and* oþer to helle

for euer-more to be þere withoutyn dwellynge here.

The thrydde part of þis Crede be-gynnys at þe holy gost.

in wham we schul trow sethyn þat he ys god. — Belief in God the Holy Ghost.

And .vj. artyculis ben knyt to þis part of þe Crede.

Furst we schul trow. þat þer ys general chirche — The Holy Catholic Church, here regarded as of angels and saints in heaven, and those men here in earth, who shall attain to eternal glory.

of angelys and seyntys in heuyn. *and* of alle þat schul be sauyd.

and þis aftyr þe day of dom schal be with-outen synne.

with here spowse in endles ioye. and iche on haue Ioye of oþer.

And noman here in erthe^{s} ys parte of þis chirche.

but if he come to heuyn be his holy lyuynge.

T. (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

Hence in this life men have no certainty whether they are part of the Church, which is only of those who should be saved.

L. *and* þus men lakkys knowynge. whe*þer* þey be*n* partyes of holy chirche.
For þey schuld nat boste of heynes in here prelacy:
But þey mot leue aftyr crist: 3yf þey schul be sauyd.
For þus techis oure be-leue. how-eu*er* antec*rist* werke./

It has three states:

And so þis chirche. has þre statys be processe of tyme.

Wandering (in the wilderness of this life). Sleeping in purgatory. Resting in heaven.

Fyrst he wandrys here in erthe. *and* sethen he slepys in p*ur*gatory.
and aftyr he restys in blysse of crist þat ys here spowse.

Hence evil popes and prelates are not members of this Church.

And so as sum men thynke. þese popys ne þese prelatys
ar nat part of holy chirche: but of synagoge [*of sathanas*]
sythen þey mot leue aftyr crist. 3if þey schul be sauyd./
þus techis our be-leue. how-euyr antecrist grucchis.

The Communion of Saints holds of each of these states;

And schul we trowe so. þat eche parte of þis chyrche:
commovys (*commonys*) *and* helpys othir. boþe here and in heuyn.
But in heuyn: þey schul yn reste haue ioye of here blysse.

and so the Forgiveness of sins,

And so schul we trow þat eche part of þys chirche:
schal haue ful remissioun of synne þat yt has don

the Resurrection of the Body,

[*and so arise*] in body *and* in sowle [*at þe day of doom*].

and the Life everlasting.

with glorye in ham bothe: and so euyr lyue in blysse. Amen.

The five senses

The be-hoys to know þy fyue wyttys þe vttyr *and* þe ynnyr.

L. and to spend hem in good vse: *and* in þe louynge of god./ must be used to the praise of God;

þe fyrst ys. syȝt of eye. þe toþer. heryng of Ere. the five outer senses:
þe þyrd. tast of Mowþ. The ferþe smellyng of nese.
þe fyfte *handlynge or towchyng of membris./ [fol. 5]

Kepe so þy syȝt: þat þou se nothyng sight,
þat ys not leful to se or may harme þy sowle.
and kepe þy heryng so: þat þow here no euyl speche hearing,
or þyng þat is nat honeste ne profitable./
and kepe so þy tast. þat þou swolow no more taste,
þan ys nede or myster to þy bodily sustynaunce.
And kepe so þy smellyng. þat yt make þe nat to smell,
ete ouer moche./
ne delite not ouer mekyl in smellyng. ne vgge þou
not with seknesse of þyn euyn-cristyn.
And kepe so þy towchyng: þat þou with-draw þe and touch.
fro schameful towchyng
or handlyng bare of man. or of womman.
handyl þou not vnhonestly þy self. ne noon oþer.
ne let non oþer towche þe vnhonestly.
For ȝif þy flesche neghȝe ony towching vnclene:
þou may not þe dede etthwe or eschewe.//

These ben also þy fyue Inwyttys. The five inner senses;
Wyl./ Resoun./ Mynd./ ymaginacioun. and
thogth.

lok þat þy wyl. be good *and* holy. will,
and loke þat þy Resoun rewle þe. *and* nat þy reason,
fleschly lust./
and loke þat þy Mynde. be good *and* honest. memory,
And lok þyn ymagynacioun be spedynge in louyng imagination,
of god.
and not be set to harm or schame.
And loke þy thowȝt be groundyd in þe ioy of thought.
heuyn:
and drede þe peyne of helle.
and þynk not ouer mekyl in þe vanite of þe world.

Enumeration of "the six things:"

T. The lawe and the lore to knawe god all-mighten,
52 *Th*at principali may be shewed in *th*is sex thinges:

1. The Points of belief.
2. The Commandments.

In *th*e fourtene poyntes that falles to *th*e trouthe,
In *th*e ten comandementez that god has gyven us,

3. The Sacraments.
4. The works of mercy.
5. The chief virtues.
6. The deadly sins.

55 In *th*e seuen Sacrementz that er in hali kirke,
In seue*n* dedis of merci until oure euen-*cr*isten;
In *th*e seue*n* ver*t*ues that ilk man sal use,
And in *th*e seue*n* dedely sinnes that man sal refuse.

And these all curates are bidden to teach, and require all within their cures,

¶ And he comandes and biddes in al that he may,
60 That all that haues kepyng or cure undir him
Enioygne thair parochiens and thaire sugettes,

That thai here *and* lere this ilk sex thinges,

C. articulos fidei, præcepta tam novi quam veteris testamenti, opera misericordiæ, virtutes principales, gratiæ sacra-
17 menta et peccata [1]mortalia cum sua sequela; et quod vice nostra injungant parochianis suis, viris et mulieribus, quod ipsi et eorum singuli præmissa omnia diligenter audiant et addiscant; et quod
20 hæc parvulos suos, filios et filias, clare doceant et ipsos ad hæc

[1] fol. 298.

L. But þynk deuowtly on þe passion of crist in wo / *and* in wele.

and he schal helpe þe in al þy nede./

These be þe wittys þe whiche god has geuyn vs to know hym w*ith*. and to rewle vs thorwȝ wysdam./ *and* leue holy lyf as good s*er*uau*n*tys of god schuld do.

Our senses given us to know God and come to that joy, which

and eschewe p*er*elys of synne. and so to come to þat Ioye:

þat god has ordeynyd vs to be made fore to þe wiche Ioy he vs brynge: þat deyde for vs vp-on þe rode. amen.

He has ordained for us.

And yf we wyl come þe ioye þat y (*haue*) spokyn of.

vs be-houys to know god almyȝty.

þe whyche principaly may be schewyd in þese vj thyngys

In þe xiiij poy*n*tis of þe feyþ.

In þe ten comau*n*dementys þat god has comau*n*dyd to vs.

In þe .vij. Sacrame*n*tys þat be in holy chyrche

In þe seuen dedys of m*er*cy to oure euyn-crystyn.

In þe .vij. vertues þat yche man schuld vse.

and in þe seuyn dedly synnes: þat yche man schuld refuse.

And he byddys. *and* *comau*n*dys in al þat he may. [fol. 5 *b*]

þat alle þat has kepyng or cur*e* vndyr hym.

schuld comau*n*d *and* charge here p*ar*ochenys *and* sogettys

þat þey here *and* lere: þese sex thyngys.

P. xiiii Fidei articulos; x. Mandata decalogi; duo Præcepta evangelii, videlicet, geminæ charitatis; et vii. etiam Opera misericordiæ; vii. Capitalia peccata, cum sua progenie; vii. Virtutes principales; ac etiam vii. Gratiæ sacramenta.

21

to teach them to their children.

T. And oft sithes reherce tham til that thai kun thaime,
And sithen teche tham thair childir, if thai any haue,

What tyme so thai er of eld to lere tham.
And that parsons *and* vikers and al paroche *prestes*
Enquiry to be made in this matter, when they come to confession,
Enquere diligently of thair sugettes, in the lentyn tyme,
When thai come to shrift, whethir thai kun this sex thinges,
And if it be funden that thai kun thaim noght,
That thai enȝoygne tham opon his behalue,
And of payne of penaunce for to kun tham.
and that none may plead want of learning, they are put forth in English.
And forthi that nane sal excuse tham
Thurgh unknalechyng for to kun tham,
Our fadir the Ercebisshop of his godenesse
has ordayned *and* bidden that thai be shewed
Openly on inglis o-monges the folk.

I. Points of belief;
¶ **Wharefore onentes the first of this sex thinges,**
That is, to knaw the articles that falles to the trouth,
Als gret clerkes techis *and* shewes in thair bokes,
Thare falles un-to the faithe fourtene poyntes
the Godhead,
Of whilk seuen falles to goddes godhede,
the Incarnation.
And othir seu*en* falles to christes manhede.
1. Oneness of God.
The first poynt that we sal trowe of the godhede
Is to trowe stedefastly in a trew god,

C. addiscenda compellant; et quod saltem in singulis quadragesimis dicti curati parochianos suos an hæc sic didiscerint et sciverint, et sic liberos suos instruxerint, examinent, exquisite injungentes non parentibus in hac parte pœnitentiam salutarem, quam pro tempore, prout eorum requirit inobedientia, studeant aggravare.

Et ne quis super hiis per ignorantiam se valeat excusare, hæc sub verbis planis et incultis, ut sic levius in publicam deducantur notitiam, fecimus annotare.

¶ PRIMO SCIENDUM EST **quod secundum theologos xiiij. sunt articuli fidei,** quorum septem pertinent ad divinitatem, et septem ad Christi humanitatem.

¶ **Primus Articulus** pertinens ad divinitatem est in unum Deum credere firma fide.

L. and ofte reherce hem tyl þey cun hem.
and sethen teche hem to here childyr yf þey ony haue.
what tyme þey be of elde.
And þat personys vicars *and* parysch prestys
a-spye besily of here sugetys in þe lentun tyme

whan þey come to schryft yf þey know *and* cunne þese sex thyngys.
And yf it be found þat þey cun hem not:
þat þey charge hem on godys behalue
and of peyne of penaunce for to cun hem.
And for non schuld excuse hym
of vnkūnys for to cun hem:
oure fadyr þe archebyschop
haþ ordeynyd *and* biddis þat þey be schewid
opunly on englysch tonge among þe pepyl.

wher fore ayens þe fyrste of þese sex thyngys
þat is to knowe þe artyculys þat fallyþ to þe trewþe
as gret clerkys techyn. *and* schewyn in here bokys
¶ Ther falle to þe feyþ. xiiij poyntys.
Seuen falle vn-to godys godhed.
and oþer seuen vn-to cristys manhed
The fyrst poynt þat we schul trowe of þe godhed. ·1·
ys to trow stedfastlyche in o trew god.

P. Et ne quis a prædictis per ignorantiam se excuset, quæ tamen omnes ministri Ecclesiæ scire tenentur, ea perstringimus summaria brevitate.

Sciendum est igitur VII esse fidei articulos pertinentes ad mysterium Trinitatis, quorum quatuor pertinent ad Deitatis intrinseca, tres vero ad effectus.

Primus est, Unitas Divinæ Essentiæ in trium Personarum indivisibili Trinitate, juxta illud, *Credo in unum Deum.*

T. And that nane othir is for to trowe in.

2. The Father is very God.

The tothir is, that the hegh fadir of heuen
Is stedefast and sothefast god almighty.

3. The Son is God equal with the Father.

The third is, that Iesu crist goddes son of heuen
Is sothefastly god euen til his fadir.

4. The Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and the Son, is very God, equal with Them both.

The ferthe poynt is, that the hali gast,
That samenly comes of bothe the fadir *and* the son,

Is sothefastly god, and euen til tham bothe.

Nevertheless not three Gods, but three several Persons and One God.

And though-whethir noght twa goddes the fadir and the son,
Ne thre goddes the fadir, *and* the son, *and* the haligast,
Bot thre se[r]e persons and noght bot a god.

5. The One and Triune God is [fol. 295 b] maker of heaven and earth and all things.

The fift point is, that the trinite
Fadir *and* sone *and* haligast, *thre persons and a god,

Is maker of heuen *and* of erthe *and* of all thinges.

6. The Church is holy and one, the fellowship of all Christian people in sacraments and other gifts.

The sext poynt is, *tha*t halikirk our modir
Is hali and allane thurgh-out the world,
That is communyng and felawred of al cristen folk,
That communes to-gedir in the sacrements
And in othir hali thinges that falles til halikirk,
In forgyfnes of synnes, and hele of thair saules,

Out of the Church is no soul safe.

For withouten halikirke nis na saule hele.

C. ¶ **Secundus est credere** Patrem omnipotentem esse Deum.

¶ **Tertius est** credere Dominum nostrum Filium ejus unigenitum esse Deum.

¶ **Quartus est** credere Spiritum Sanctum esse Deum, et sic credendum est Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum esse unum Deum.

¶ **Quintus est** credere quod Trinus et unus Deus est creator cœli et terræ.

¶ **Sextus est** credere sanctam ecclesiam catholicam et sanctorum communicationem, quæ consistit in congregatione et communione fidelium, et sacramentis ecclesiæ et aliis quibus communicat ecclesia Christiana, ita quod extra istam ecclesiam non est salus.

L. *and* noon oþer ys to trow yn.
The toþer ys þis þat þe heyȝ fadyr of heuyn ·2·
is stedfast *and* sothfast god almyȝty.
The thrydde ys þat iesu *crist* godys sone of heuyn ·3·
is sothfast god. *and* euyn tyl his fadyr./
The ferthe poynt ys þat þe holygost. ·4·
þat to-gedyr *com*mys of hem bothe. þe fadyr *and* þe sone
ys sothfast god. And euyn to hem bothe.
and nat two goddys þe fadyr *and* þe sone:
ne thre goddys. þe fadyr *and* þe sone *and* þe holy gost:
But þre *per*sonys. *and* nat but on god./
The fyfte poynt ys þat þe trinite. ·5·
fadyr *and* sone *and* holy gost. thre *per*sonys *and* on god
ys maker of heuyn *and* erthe. *and* of alle þyngys þat vnd*er* heuyn be./
The .vj. poynt ys. þat holy chirche oure modyr · ·6·
ys holly on thorwȝ-owt þe world
þat ys comenyn*g*e and felaschype of alle cristyn folk
þat comynys to-gydyr in þe sacrament
and in oþer holy þyngys þat falle to holy chirche:
In forȝevynge of syn*n*es and hele of here sowlys.
For *with*owten holy chirche is no soule heyl.

P. Secundus est, Patrem credere ingenitum esse Deum.
Tertius est, Filium credere unigenitum Dei esse Deum.
Quartus est, credere Spiritum Sanctum nec genitum, nec ingenitum esse Deum, sed a Patre et Filio pariter procedentem.
Quintus est, quod creatio cœli et terræ, hoc est, omnis visibilis et invisibilis creaturæ, est a tota individibili Trinitate.
Sextus est, sanctificati Ecclesiæ per Spiritum Sanctum, et gratiæ sacramenta, et cætera omnia in quibus communicat Ecclesia Christiana. In quo intelligitur quod Ecclesia cum suis sacramentis et legibus per Spiritum Sanctum omni homini, quantumcunque peccatori, sufficit ad salutem, et quod extra Ecclesiam non est salus.

7. The resurrection and everlasting life of the bodies and souls that are sundered by death until the day of judgment.

T. **The seuent article** that us awe to trow
Is uprisyng of flesh, and lyfe withouten end,
For when that dede has sondred our bodies and oure saules
For a certeyne tyme, als our kynde askes,
Unto when that god sal deme the quick and the dede
Than our saules sal turne ogayn til our bodies,
And we, thas ilke, and naneothir than we er now,
Sothefastly sal rise up in bodi and in saule
That neuermare sal sondir fra that tyme forthe,
Bot samen, if we wele do whiles we er here,
Wend with god to that blis that euermare lastes,

And als if we ivel do, til endeles payne.

The Incarnation of Christ.

¶ **THARE ER OTHIR SEUEN POYNTES of cristes manhede**
That er nedefull to trowe til al that er cristen.

1. Conceived by the Holy Ghost,

¶ The first is, that Iesu crist, goddes sone of heuen,
Was sothefastely consayued of the maiden mari,

and born of the Virgin Mary without marring her motherhood, or loss to her maidenhood.

And toke flesh and blode, and bicome man
Thurgh might and strenth of the haligast
Withouten ony merryng of hir modirhede,
Withouten ony mynnyng of hir maidenhede.

2. God and Man, but one Christ,

¶ **That othir poynt,** that we sal trow
That he, god and man bathe in a person,

C. ¶ **Septimus est** credere carnis resurrectionem et vitam æternam, videlicet, quod omnes in die judicii sumus in carne et anima veraciter surrecturi, et tunc erit æterna gloria electorum et damnatio perpetua reproborum.

¶ **Primus articulus pertinens ad Christi humanitatem** est vera Christi incarnatio, videlicet, quod Dominus noster Iesus Christus Filius Dei unigenitus conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto sine virili semine ex Maria Virgine incorrupta.

¶ **Secundus est** ipsius Domini nostri Ihesu Christi sic incarnati nativitas ex dicta Virgine gloriosa.

L. The .vij. articule þat vs owe to trow ·7·
his vp-rysynge in flesch *and* lyf *with*-owtyn ende.
For whan þe deþ. haþ sundryd *oure bodyes *and* [fol. 6]
oure sowlys.

Fro þat tyme vn-to þe tyme þat god schal deme þe
qwyk *and* þe dede.
þan oure sowlys schal *turne* aȝen to *our* bodyes.
and we schul þe same *and* non oþer þan we ar now
sothly ryse vp in body. *and* in sowle
þat neuer more schal sundyr fro þat tyme forthe
boþe to-gydyr. ȝyf we weel do whyl we be here
wende to god or *with* god in-to blysse þat euer
more schal laste.
And yf we ywyl do[to endles peyne.

Alij. vij. de humanitate *Cristi*./

These ben oþer seuen poyntys of cristys manhed
þat ar nedful to trow to al þat ar *criston*.
The fyrste ys þat *iesus* crist godyssone of heuyn ·1·
was conseyuyd of þe maydyn marie be *ver*tu of þe
holy gost.
And tok flesch *and* blod. *and* be-com man
thorwȝ myȝt *and* strenthe of þe fadyr of heuyn

Christ conceived by the Holy Ghost, became Man through the power of the Father, without marring the maidenhood of the Virgin,

*with*owtyn ony marryng of hyr maydynhed.
The oþer poynt ys þat we schull*en* trow / ·2·
þat he god *and* man in on *per*sone

P. Septimus est, consummatio Ecclesiæ per gloriam æternam, in anima et in carne veraciter resuscitandæ: Et per oppositum intelligitur æterna damnatio reproborum.

Item septem alii pertinent ad Christi Humanitatem.

Primus est, Incarnatio, seu vera carnis assumptio ex sola, per Spiritum Sanctum, Virgine gloriosa.

Secundus est, Vera Incarnati Dei nativitas ex Virgine incorrupta.

begotten of the Father before time was,

T. Was sothefastly born of that blissed maiden,
Godde, geten of his fadir before ony tyme,

and born of His mother in time.

And man borne of his modir and brought forthe in tyme.

3. Endured bodily sufferings for sinful man, and death on the cross.

¶ **The third poynt** that we sal trowe is *cri*stes passion,
That he tholed bodily for synfulman kynd,
Howe he was traised with his disciple, *and* taken with Iues,
Beten with skourges that no skyn held,
Nailed and (*on*) the rode, and corouned with thornes,
And many othir hard paynes, and died atte last.

4. When His Body was buried, His Spirit, with His Godhead, went down to Hell,

¶ **The ferthe article** is, that when he was dede,
And his bodi tane doune, and wonden, and doluen

Yit, to whiles that his bodi lai in the *grau*e,
The saule with the godhede went untill hell,

and released those whom in His foresight He willed to be saved.

And heried it, and toke oute thas that wer his,
Als Adam *and* Eue, and othir forme-fadirs

Whilke he in his forloke wold that wer saued.

5. Rose from the Dead very God and very Man;

¶ **The fift poynt** is, that on the third day
Aftir that he died, he ras fra dede un-to lyue,
Sothefast god, and man in bodi and in saule,

by His death hath destroyed death, and by His rising again hath restored to us everlasting life.

For als he died in sekenesse of our manhede,
Als he ras thurgh strenthe of his godhede,
And so destrueyd our dede thurgh his dieyng,
And whikend us un-to lyf thurgh his risyng.

C. ¶ **Tertius est** vera Christi passio, qui, ut genus humanum ab æterna morte, cui fuit obnoxium, redimeret, gratis sustinuit asperrimam mortem crucis.

¶ **Quartus est** descensio Christi ad inferos in anima, quiescente corpore in sepulcro, ut inde suos eriperet quos redemit.

¶ **Quintus est** vera Christi resurrectio qui tertia die post passionem suam, solutis inferni doloribus, a mortuis resurrexit.

L. was sothfastly born of þe mayden Marie.
god getyn of his fadyr be-fore eny tyme
and man born of his modyr: *and* browȝt forþ in tyme.
The þryd artycule. þat we schul trow ys crystys passioun ·3·
þat he suffryd bodyly for synful man-kende.
and how he was betrayd *with* his owyn dyscyple. *and* takyn *with* þe iewys.
betyn *with* scorgys: þat no skyn held hool.
and naylyd hym to a cros. *and* crownyd hym *with* thornys.
and many oþer harde paynys he suffryd. and deyde at þe laste./
The ferþe artycule ys. þat whan he was ded ·4·
and hys body takyn doun. *and* woundyn *and* leyde on a toumbe
ȝit whilys hys body lay on þe graue:
þe gost *with* þe godhed: went in-to helle.
and harwyd hyt. *and* tok owt þo þat were þerynne
as Adam *and* Eue. *and* oþer former fadrys
þe whiche thorwȝ original synne were in þat place.
and þat he: thorw his forlok wold were sauyd.//
The .v. poynt ys. þat on þe thyrd day ·5·
aftyr þat he deyde: he ros fro deþ to lyue:
sothfast god *and* man in body *and* in sowle.
For as he deyde in seknesse of our manhed:
so he roos thorwe strengthe of þe godhed.
And destroyd oure deþ: thorwȝ hys dyynge.
and qwyknyd vs vn-to lyf: thorowȝ hys rysynge./

P. Tertius est, Vera Christi passio, et mors in cruce sub Pilati tyrannide.
Quartus est, Descensio Dei ad inferos in anima, quiescente corpore in sepulchro, ad spoliationem Tartari.
Quintus est, Vera Dei resurrectio.

6. Ascended into heaven, where He in our nature is not only "equal unto the angels," but crowned with honour above all angels, that for a while was made lower than angels.

T. ¶ **The sext poynt** is, that we sal trowe,
That the fourtied day aftir that he ras
Thurgh strenth of him-self he stegh in-till heuen,
Where our kynd is now in his blissed *per*son,
Noght anely euen no mete to his angels,
Bot hegh*er* crouned kyng aboue all angels,
That before-tyme was lesse than kynd of angels.

7. He shall so come in like manner to judge the quick and the dead according to their works.

¶ **The seuend poynt** is, that right als he died,
And aftirward ras *and* stegh in-till heuen,
Right swa sal he cu*m* opon the last day.
Bathe forto deme the quick and the dede;
Whare all the folk that eu*er* was, or is, or sall be,
Sal sothefastly be shewed *and* sene befor him,

And ilkman answer of his owen dedis
And be da*m*pned or saued whethir-su*m* he de-
ser*v*es,
For als his rightwisenesse is now menged with
mer*c*y,
So sal it than be withouten merci.

The Ten Commandments.

¶ THE SECUND THYNG OF THE SEX TO KNAWE god almighten
Is the ten comandement3, that he has gyuen us,

The first table our duty to God.

Of the whilk ten, the thre that er first
Augh us haly to hald onentes our god,

The second table our duty to our neighbour.

and the seue*n* that er aftir, onentes our euen
*cris*ten.

C. ¶ **Sextus est** vera Christi ascensio ad cœlos, qui quadragesimo die post resurrectionem suam ascendit in cœlum.

¶ **Septimus est** adventus Christi ad judicium certissima expectatio, et tunc, qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam æternam; qui vero mala, in ignem æternam.

¶ SECUNDO DECEM SUNT MANDATA A CUNCTIS FIDELIBUS INVIOLABILITER OBSERVANDA, quorum tria ordinantur ad Deum, septem vero ad proximum.

L. The syxte poynt ys. we schul trow ·6·
þat þe .xl. day aftyr þat he roos.
thorwȝ strengthe of hym-self: *he stey in-to heuyn. [fol. 6 b]
wher oure kende ys now in his blysful person
not only euyn *and* mete to his angelys:
But hyȝ crownyd kyng a-bouyn alle angelys.
þat be-for-tyme was lasse þan þe kende of angelys.
The vij. poynt ys *and* þe laste: þat ryȝt as he dyid
and aftyrward roos. *and* steyȝ in-to heuyn.
ryȝt so schal he come doun vp-on þe laste day.
Bothe for to deme þe qwyk *and* þe dede
For alle folk þat euer was. or ys. or schal be:
schal sykyrly be schewyd. and seyn be-fore hys face.
þat day.
And ylke man answere for his owne dedys.
and be dampnyd or sauyd. wheþer-so þey haue seruyd.
For as his ryȝtwysnesse ys now mengyd with mercy:
so schal yt þan be. withowtyn mercy.//
Pe secunde thynge of þe syx to know god almyȝty
ys þe ten commaundementys. þat he has geuyn to vs.
of þe whiche þe thre þat arn furst. we owe to oure god./
and þe seuen oþer aftyrward we owe to oure euyn cristyne.

P. Sextus est, Vera ipsius ad cœlos ascensio.

Septimus est, ipsius venturi ad judicium certissima expectatio.

Item decem Mandata veteris testamenti, quorum tria ordinantur ad Deum, quæ dicuntur mandata primæ tabulæ: Septem verò ad proximum, quæ dicuntur secundæ tabulæ mandata.

Thou shalt have none other gods.

T, ¶ **The first commandement** charges us *and* techis
174 That we leue ne loute nane fals goddes,

C, ¶ **Primum mandatum est,** Non adorabis Deos alienos; in
64 quo prohibentur principaliter omnis idolatria,

Primum mandatum /

L. Thou schalt haue o god *and* no mo./
Ouyr al thynge loue hym al-so./ } **Non adorabis deos alienos.**
And þy neghebore bothe frend *and* fo./

Thys ys þe fyrste of godys comaundementys./ þou schalt not worschype fals goddys. Alle þo þat leue in gret synne as pryde. Couetyse./ Gloteny./ *and* such mo. worschepyn fals godys. For god seys be **Job** þat þe fynd ys prince of alle þe childryn of pride./ And Iesu crist says in þe gospel. þat þe fend ys prince of þe world þat ys of fals men. þat loue more þe pride and þe falshede of þis world: þan þe trewþe of goddys lawe herfore seyþ seynt **Poul.** þat Couetyse ys worschepyng of fals goddys. And so glotonys make þeyr bely here god. To þys ende seynt **Austyn** *and* seynt **Ierom.** wytnessyn þat what-euer a man bowys most to. þat thyng he makys hys god. Therfore prude men worschepyn pride. *and* so þe fynd for here fals god. and so of alle oþer synnys.

Those that live in sin worship false gods, **Job. 41.** **St. John 12. 31.** **eph. 5. 1.** **phil. 3.** and so of whatever men are most inclined to.

¶ The two cherubynnys þat schadewyd in archa dei. **exo / 25. c° /** were not set þer to be worschypyd: But for to meve þe childryn of israel to haue mende of god in heuyn. *and* pray to hym þat he *wolde sende down his Angell to teche hem wyt *and* wysdam þat ys be-toknyd be cherubyn. And also to meve hem to pray to god. þat he wold send to hem. angelys fro heuyn to fyȝte aȝenst here enmys: whan þey were hard bestad. *and* so he dyde ofte as holy wryt wytnessyþ. **4 reg^m. 19 c°./ ysay^e 37 c°.** The [*n*]eddyr of bras was set in þe oste: for two skyllys. þe ton was þat whan þe childryn of israel lykyd þer on: þei

The cherubims *that overshadowed the mercy-seat were not for the worship of the Israelites;* [fol. 7]

nor the brazen serpent.

P. In *primo* prohibetur omnis idololatria, cum dicitur, *Non habebis Deos alienos coram Me:* in quo prohibentur implicite

And herein are forbidden idolatries, enchantments, and all evil arts.

T. And in this commandement is forboden us
Alkyns mysbileues, and al mawmetries,
Al fals enchaunmentez, *and* al sorceries,
All fals charmes, and all witchecraftes;
All fals coniurisons, *and* al wicked craftes,
That men of mysbyleue traistes opon,
Or hopes ony help in, withouten god almighten.

C. sortilegia; et secundario omnes incantationes et carminationes cum
73 suis characteribus et figmentis.

L. schuld haue mynde of godis godnesse. *and* þanke hym þat he wold hele hem of þe styngynge of þe [*n*]eddrys. An o*þer* skyle was. whan þe pepyl lokyd on þe [*n*]eddyr of bras: þey schuld be war: *and* kepe hem-self þat þey brak no more godys comaundementis lest þat þe same vengaunce come a3en. ¶ For to kepe þis comaundement yt ys nedful þat þou beleve sadly: þat þer ys but O god in *tri*nite. fadyr *and* sone *and* holy gost. thre personys *and* o god. This god is most my3ty þyng þat may be. The most wytty. and most ry3tful: *and* most ful of goodnesse. mercy: *and* charite þerfore þou most drede hym. & hys offence be-fore al o*þer* thyngys For he knowyþ al þyng preuy *and* apert And most nedys punysche al man*er* synne in þis world or in p*ur*gatory. or in hell And no creature may be a-gayn his iuste punyschy*n*ge. *and* for hys endles godnesse. þou most loue hym w*ith* al þyn herte. and seke his worschipe. *and* plese hym be fore alle o*þer* thyngys If þou do þis wel: þou most stody to kepe his comaundementys *and* his lawe be-fore alle o*þer* p*re*ceptys *and* lawes maad of men for ellys þou louyst not hys lawe be-fore o*þer*./ *and* so not hym-self be-fore al o*þer* thyngys Also þou most forsake al maner wycchecraftys. *and* coniurynge of fendys. *and* þat þou seke nat trewthe of dede spiritys. but only of god. *and* his lawe as he comaundys hym-self in his lawe

What is needed is a firm belief in One God in Trinity,

and a fear of offending Him.

God's law to be obeyed rather than man's.

Who brekys þe fyrste maundement: Prowde men. wordly men. *and* fleschly men. Why prowde men. For þey make þe deuyl here god. Why wordly men. for þey make worldly godys here god. and why fleschly Men for þey make here bely here god.

Breakers of this commandment.

P. omnia sortilegia, et omnes incantationes cum superstitionibus cha-
62 racterum, et hujusmodi figmentorum.

The second (third) commandment. Thou shalt not take the name of God in vain.

T. ¶ THE SECUND COMMANDEMENT biddes us noght take
In ydelship, ne in vayne the name of our god,
So that we trow noght in his name, bot that is stedefast;
That we swere noght be his name but behouely;
And that we neuen noght his name but worshipfully.

C. ¶ **Secundum est, Non assumes in vanum nomen Dei tui,** in quo prohibetur principaliter omnis hæresis, et secundario omnis blasphemia et irreverens nominatio Dei nostri.

Secundum Mandatum [fol. 7 *b*]

L. In ydyl godys name tak þou nogth swere be no þyng þat god haþ wrougt. } **Non assumes nomen dei tui in vanum.**

The secunde comaundement ys *þis*. Thou schalt not take þe name of þy lord þy god in vayn. Here alle men or wymmen þat turne to grete synnes aftyr here cristyndom. in þat þey taken þe name of god in vayn. For at here cristyndom þey forsake þe fynd *and* alle his pompis. hys pride. *and* alle hys werkys of synne *and* of falsnesse. and bynde hem wyl-fully to goddys hesty̆ þan 3if þey turne a3en to þese synnys yt ys in vayn þat þey take goddys name vþ-on hem. But yf þey amende hem wylfully in *þis* lyf. For ellys þey schal haue more payne withowte ende. as seynt **Petyr** seyþ **.2ª. pe. 2º.**

Sin after baptism is breaking this commandment, for we then renounce the devil and all his works.

Also whan men seye godys seruyse in gret hate *and* envye with owte deuocioun *and* reuerence: þey take godys name in vayn. for þey aske here owne dampnacioun in seyyng of þe **Pater noster**. Also prestys þat sey masse *and* oþer seruyse of þe chirche in dedly synne not for reuerence *and* deuocioun of god: but for couetyse *and* veyn glorye takyn þe name of god in veyn. For þey resseyue þe sacrament to here dampnacioun. as Seynt **Poul** seys **.cor. ii.**

And so of saying our prayers when out of charity.

Priests in mortal sin saying mass or other public service for the sake of gain or display take God's name in vain. [1 Cor., xi, 29.]

¶ Also in vayn sweryng *and* nedles. fals men take þe name of god in vayn.

¶ Also men in gret statys. be þey spiritual be þey temperal. þat gouerne not þese statys aftyr þe lawe of god in destroyenge of synne *and* wrongys. *and* maynteny̆nge of ry3twysnesse *and* good lyf of þe pepyl. taken þe name of god in vayn. For in as moche. as þey take þese offycys or statys./ in þat

Men in high office in Church or State, who do not rule according to the word of God, take His name in vain; for by taking these offices they

P. In *secundo*, cum dicitur, *Non assumes nomen Dei in vanum:* prohibetur principaliter hæresis universa, et secundario, omnis blasphemia, irreverens Dei nominatio, præcipue in perjurio.

Keep holy Sunday and other holy days of the Church;

T. ¶ **The third is,** that we sal hald and halowe our haliday,
188 The Sonnonday, *and* all othir that falles to the yhere,
That er ordayned to halowe thurgh halikirk,

C. ¶ **Tertium est, Sabbata sanctifices** in quo præcipitur tam clericis quam laicis, omissis operibus servilibus, vacare divino cultui
81 diebus dominicis et festivis.

L. þey be þe mynystris of god. to do ryȝtwisnesse and bere down wrong*es and* synne. *and* to be myrour. *and* ensampyl of holynesse *and* ryȝtwysnesse to alle men vndyr hem — become ministers of God.

þ*er*fore be war þat neu*er* þou swere fals. ne ydyl. ne be ony creature. but only be god in tyme of nede: for to schewe nedful trewþe *and* p*ro*fytable to þe *and* to oþ*er* men. For god com*m*andys þat oure word be: ȝe ȝe nay nay. þat þe herte *and* þe mowþ acorde togydyre. And whan we speke of þe name of god or Ie*su*: þat hit be don: *with* drede reu*er*ence *and* loue. — Swear only in the cause of truth and charity.

¶ Who brekys þe secu*n*de comau*n*dement. veyn spekeris. ydyl swererys. and fals werkerys./ why veyne spekers. For here wordys be not medful. why ydyl swerys. For here oþys be not nedful. why wikkyd werkerys. For here werkys. Be not spedful./ [fol. 8] Breakers of the commandment.

Kepe þy halyday in clene lyf. *with* alle þy meyne. *and* þy wyf. } **Sabbata** *sanctifices.*

The thyrde heste is þ*is*. Be-thynk þe to kepe þy halyday. Fyrst haue mende how god made heuyn *and* erthe *and* alle creaturys of noȝt nat for his nede: but only for his goodnesse. and made angelys *and* men to be resonable. *and* to vndirstonde þe godnesse of god *and* to be p*ar*tyners of þe blysse of heuyn./ **3m. mandatum.** How to keep holy day: by calling to mind God's goodness in the creation;

¶ Whan man was mad in þ*is* degre of nobley

P. In *tertio*, cum dicitur, *Memento ut sabbata sanctifices;* præcipitur cultus religionis Christianæ, ad quem indifferenter clerici et laici tenentur. Ubi etiam sciendum est, quod obligatio ad feriandum in sabbato legali, secundum formam veteris testamenti, expiravit omnino cum cæteris in lege cæremoniis: et successit in novo testamento modus vacandi cultui Divino diebus Dominicis, et cæteris diebus solennibus ad hoc auctoritate Ecclesiæ deputatis. Quibus diebus vacandi modus non est sumendus a substitutione Judaica, sed a canonicis institutis.

and, whether clerk or layman, hear or say divine service in honour of God and His saints,

T. In whilk daies all folk lered and lawed
191 Awe to gyf tham godely to goddes *ser*uice
To here it *and* say it aftir thair state is
In worship of god almighten *and* of his gode halowes,

L. *and* worthynesse he brak goddys comaundement in paradys. *and* was boundyn to bodyly deth. *and* peyne of helle Tyl *iesu crist*: made rannsoun *with* his herte blod on þe cros./ *þer*fore haue mynde of *þis* charite of crist *and* peynful deth./ the love of Christ and His dying for fallen man;

¶ Also haue mynde: how ofte þou hast brokyn godys hestys. sytthe þou haddyst dyscrecioun of good *and* euyl. *and* of *þis* amende þe be *very* con*tricion* schryft *and* satisfaccion. And if þou hast don ony good dede wele: þank god *þerof*. for his *grace* hit was. *and* not þou þy-self./ and pray hym 3eue þe *grace* to laste *and* ende trewly in hys seruyse. and thy sins, and be contrite, and confess thee, and make satisfaction; and thank God for good works, done by His grace, and not thine own strength.

¶ þan*n* here þou goddys *seruyse with* reue*rence* *and* deuocioun. and seye deuowtly þy pa*ter* *noster*. *and* þy beleue and þyn Aue maria./ *and* o*þer* deuowt prayeris yf þou can And here godys lawe taw3t in þy modyr tonge. For *þat* is bettyr to þe: þan to here many massys. Aftyrward ete and drynk in mesure./ *and* þank god of his 3yfte. Hear matins and mass, and say the Lord's Prayer, Hail-Mary, and Creed. Hear an English sermon rather than many masses, and eat and drink in moderation with thanksgiving.

¶ Aftyr noon gyf þe not to nyse vanytes *and* pley. but loke wher þy ney3ebo*urs* ben at debat: *and* acord hem be meknesse and charite 3if þu may. For it is bettyr þan to bylde many chirches. Afterwards make peace between neighbours, and that is better than building churches.

¶ þan visyte þy ney3eboris *þat* arn bedreden. blynde *and* crokyd. *and* in o*þer* dysesys. *and* comfort fyrst here sowlys *þat* þey falle not in despayre ne grucchyngge a-gayn þeyre godys visitacioun. For yf þey *do: þey shal haue more peyne in *þis* world. *and* in helle eu*er*./ and 3if þey take *þis* lytyl peyne paciently: þey schul haue remyssioun of here synnes befor don in þe blysse of heuyn *with*-owten ende. Then comfort the sick and distressed with spiritual consolation, [fol. 86]

¶ þan 3eue hem of þy catelle to susteyne here lyf as þow woldyst: *þat* þey schulde helpe þe yf and thy worldly goods, as thou wouldest be done

without clinging to the world, or living in the lusts of the flesh.

T. Noght than for to tent to tary with the world,
Ne lyue in lykyng ne lust that the flesh yernes,
Bot gladly to *ser*ue god in clennesse of life.

Honour thy father and mother,

¶ **The ferthe** biddes (*)us to do worship to fadir and to modir,
Noght only to fleshli fadir *and* modir
That getes *and* foster*s* us forthe in this world,

C. ¶ **Quartum mandatum est, Honorare patrem et matrem,** in quo mandato intelliguntur pater et mater non solum carnales, sed etiam spirituales, videlicet prælati et alii curati qui sunt patres spirituales fidelium; mater vero ecclesia catholica, cujus sunt filii universi Christiani;

L. þou were in þe same myschef and þey in bonchef as þou art now./ by in the like evil case.

¶ But men dredys sore *þat* on þe haly day whan schulde most worschype god þan þey dispyse hym most be haun*t*ynge of pryde *and* alle o*þer* synnes *and* make *that* þe deuelys worke-day. worsse þan eny o*þer* day in þe weke. Dreadful to do the works of the devil on holy days.

¶ Who brekys þe thyrde mau*n*dement. Men *þat* thenk not on god hertyly. And men *þat* pray not to god devoutly. And men *þat* do not werkys of mercy wysly. Whi men *þat* thenk not on god hertly. For þey ocupy here hertys in vanites. Why men *þat* pray not to god devoutly For þey worschipe hym *with* here lyppis: *and* not *with* here hertys. Whi men *þat* do not þe werkys of mercy wysely. For þey don here almes more to þe nedles: þan to þe verry nedy. Breakers of this commandment.

¶ Quartum. Mandatum.

Fadyr and modyr worschipe both.// *with* counseyl confort. *and* mete *and* cloþ.// } **Honora.** } **Parentes.**

The ferthe comau*n*dement is *þis*. worschipe þy fadyr *and* modyr. Holy wryt spekys of þre fadyrs. The fyrst ys god *þat* made vs alle of noȝt. and holy chirche ys owre modyr. And we owe to drede *þis* fadyr *and* his offense before alle o*þer* thyngys. *and* loue hym. *and* seke hys honour *and* do his wylle be-fore al o*þer* thyngys. For god says be þe prophete þe sone schal honour þe fadyr. *and* þe seruaunt schal drede hys lord. þerfore ȝif .1us. pater

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P. *Primum* secundæ tabulæ est, *Patrem et matrem* explicite, principaliter, et specialiter honorare: implicite autem, et secundario, omnis homo pro sui gradus merito ex eodem mandato intelligitur honorandus. In hoc autem mandato non solum intelligitur pater et mater carnaliter, verum etiam spiritualiter: ut pater sit prælatus Ecclesiæ mediatus vel immediatus; mater autem Ecclesia, cujus filii sunt filii Catholici universi.

T. [fleshli fadir *and* modir
That getes *and* fosters us forthe in this world,]
and thy spiritual father, and holy mother Church; Bot til our gastly fadirs that has hede of us,
And techis us how to lif til hele of our saules.
And til our gastly modir, that is halikirke
To be buxom thar-to, *and* saue the right of it,
For it is modir til all that cristenly lyfes,
and order thyself reverently to thy betters. And alswa til ilk man that worshipfull is,
for to do worship aftir that it is.

C. 86 secundario in isto mandato omnis superior juxta gradus sui meritum intelligitur honorandus.

L. y am *3our* fadyr: where is myn hono*ur*. *and* loue. *3*yf y be *3our* lord: where is my drede.

¶ the secu*n*d fadyr is þy gostly fadyr. þat haþ cure of þy sowle. and þou schalt loue hym hertely. *and* do hym reue*r*ence in word *and* dede and do aftyr his techynge in þat: þat he techys þe godys lawe And pay hym tyþys *and* offryngys dewe. wilfully. redyly. and trewly. *and* styre hym and confort hym to do hys offys *trewly in sad [fol. 9] techynge of holy wryt. *and* opyn ensampyl of holy lyf. For yf he do nat his offys wel: he is a þowsand-fold more *cur*syd þan suggettys wyþ-drawyng here tythis. *3*e: whan curatys don wel here offys./

.2us. pater
Follow his teaching in so far as after the law of God,
and pay thy tithes and support him in the discharge of his office.
If he fail, his fault is worse than that of not paying tithe to deserving priests.

¶ The thyrde fadyr *and* modyr ar þy bodily fadyr *and* modyr þat brow*3*t þe forþ in-to þis world and þou schalt drede hem *and* reue*r*ence hem. in wil word *and* dede./ and in here nede help hem *with* þy catel. *and* þy *trau*ayle. *and* spe*n*de þy flesch. *and* þy blood: for here sustinau*n*se. as þey dyde for þe whan þou my*3*tyst no*3*t. And *3*if þou do þis wel. þou schalt haue goddys blessyng. and all hys angelys. *and* of alle good men *and* wy*mm*en in erthe. And if þou do nat þis worschype: þou schalt haue godys *curs*: *and* alle hys seyntys. *and* of alle good men *and* wy*mm*en in erthe.

.3us. pater.
Honour thy bodily parents,
and aid them with thy means.

¶ And alwey haue mende on þe sorwe *and* þe trauayle þat þy modyr had *with* þe in beryng. *and* norschyng for þe. and *per*fore. loue here and do here reue*r*ence in al þy lyf vp-on godys blessynge.

Forget not thy mother that bore' thee, as thy hope is for God's blessing.

¶ Who brekys þe fou*r*þe comau*n*dement. vnkende men. Froward men. *and* rebel men./ Whi vnkende men. for þey helpe not. here eldrys as þey schuld do./ Why froward men. For þey wil take no gostly techynge. Why rebel men. For þey ben vnbuxu*m* to cryst *and* his chyrche./

Breakers of this commandment.

Thou shalt do no murder, of body, or reputation;

T. ¶ **The fifth** biddes us that we sla naman,
That is at say, bodili ne gastly nouthir,
For als mony we sla, in that at we mai,
Als we sklaundir or bacbite or falsly defames,
Or fandes for to confound tham that noght serues,

nor withhold the necessaries of life, if thou hast wherewithal. ●

Or withdrawes lyuelade fra tham that nede haues,
If we be of haueing for to help tham.

C. ¶ **Quintus est, Non occides,** in quo prohibetur nedum hominum occisio, sed etiam vis injusta, proximi læsio tam spiritualis, quam corporalis. Spiritualiter enim occidunt, qui proximis detrahunt, et indigentibus denegant alimenta, et qui per malitiam opprimunt innocentes.

L. Sle noman *with* wykkyd wyl: } **Non Occides**
In word ne dede. lowde ne styl: }

Pe fyfte comau*n*dement ys þis. þou schalt not sle. vndirstonde þou wrongwysly noþer man ne wo*m*man ne child: neþer *cr*istyn ne heþyn. ne be fals hate. of herte. ne euyl sterynge. ne cou*n*seylynge þerto ne doynge of dede: ne mayntenyn*g*e of oþer mysdoers þerto. But loue yche man p*a*rfytly in charite as þy self. **Quintum Mandatum**

Extends to heathens, and the inciting of others.

¶ Also þou schalt not sle þyn owne sowle be consent to dedly synne. ne oþer menys be opyn sklau*n*dyr. *and* mayntenynge in synne. For whoso-euyr doys þus: ys cursyd of god: *and* alle his seyntys.

Self-murder of the soul by mortal sin.

¶ Also froward p*r*elatys *and* curatys. sle *me*nnys sowlys *and* bodyes be wythdrawyn*g*e of godys word. and ensample of holy lyf. For þey may not lyve gostly in fayþ *and* oþer vertuys: but be heryng *and* kepyn*g*e of godys word And þey ar boun*d*e vp-on peyne of dam*p*nacioun to teche þus godys word þat ys fode of ma*n*nys sowle. [fol. 9 *b*]

Spiritual murder by neglect of life and doctrine.

¶ Also bakbyters *and* sowers of fals lesynggys þat bryngge men at debat. *and* owt of charite arn wykkyd men-sleers. For þey sle bope bodys *and* sowlys som tym many thowsandys.

Backbiting and lying, strife-stirring.

¶ Also wikkyd extorsioneris *and* fals oppressoris of pore men sle þeyr bodys wron*g*fully *and* her sowlys be grucchyngge *and* vnpaciens *and* blasfemynge of god whan þey take awey falsly þeire godis be þe whiche here bodely lyf schuld be susteynyd.

Extortion that makes poor men blaspheme.

¶ Also gret lordys *and* p*r*elatys þat schulde *with*stonde þe opun mysdoers. and do nat. but

Rulers in State and Church

P. *Secundum* est, *Non occides.* In quo explicite inhibetur illicita personæ interemptio, commissa verbo, opere, vel favore: implicite vero personæ injusta læsio inhibetur. Spiritualiter autem occidunt, qui detrahunt, vel qui innocentes opprimunt vel offendunt.

Thou shalt not commit adultery, with kin or stranger, single or married.

T. ¶ **The sext** commandement forbedes us to syn
Or forto foly fleshli with any woman
Outhir sib or fremned, wedded, or unwedded,
Or any fleshly knawyng or deid haf with any,
othir than the sacrement of matermoyne escuse,
And the lawe *and* the lare of halikirke teches.

C. ¶ **Sextum est, Non mœchaberis,** in quo prohibetur incestus et omnis fornicatio, [*et omnis commixtio viri et mulieris*] quam sacramentum matrimonii non excusat.

L. raþer meyntenys hem þer-yn ar cursyd mensleers for þey fauor *and* mayntene al þis. seþyn þey be bowndyn to amend al þis. and may lyʒtly do hit *and* do hyt not. upholding actual offenders.

¶ Who brekys þe fyfte maundement. Envyous men. wraþful men. and auerous men./ Why envious men. For þey haten here breþeryn. Why wraþful men. For þey bakbytyn here breþeryn. and why auerous men. For þey helþ not here euyn crystyn. Breakers of this commandment.

Synne þou not in leccherye
Consent þou not to þat foly } Adultery,

Þe sexte comandement ys þis. Thou schalt not do leccherye noþer in consent in hert ne spekynge ne in countenaunce withowte-forþ. ne doyng in dede. excusynge *and* iustyfyynge and mayntenyng of oþer men þeryn. Noþer in doynge of symple Fornicacioun be-twyx sengyl man & sengyl womman. Noþer in avowtry. ne in brekynge of chastyte. þat ys þe moste synne of alle oþer. And ʒyt þe lest of alle þre ys dampnable. who-euer do yt with-owtyn ful repentaunce. as seynt Powl says. inward or outward, by act or consent, of single or married, or vowed to chastity.

¶ Also froward ordynaries. *and* confessouris þat norschyn men in þis synne for annvel rent. oþer worldly wynnynge. *and* bodyly welfare. bre*kyn cursydly þis heste. For þey sellyn sowlys to satanas for a lytyl worldly dryt. *and* ʒeue hem leue to roty forþ in þis cursyd leccherye fro ʒere to ʒere. as longe as þey wyl pay mekyl. Or help to bere hem vp in extorsiouns Accursed *sin* of spiritual judges and shrift-fathers [fol. 10] in condoning incontinence for fixed money payments or their personal interest.

P. *Tertium* est, *Non mœchaberis.* In quo explicite inhibetur adulterium, et implicite fornicatio, quæ explicite prohibetur in *Deutero.*, *xiiii.* ubi dicitur, *Non erit meretrix de filiabus Israel, nec scortator de filiis Israel.* Inhibetur etiam in eodem mandato omnis commixtio viri et mulieris, quam bona matrimonii non excusent. Omnis etiam voluntaria pollutio prohibetur, quocunque modo studiose vel voluntarie procurata.

Thou shalt not steal.

T. ¶ **The seuent** comandement biddes us noght stele;
221 In whilk is forboden robbyng *and* reuyng,
All wrangwise takyng or withhaldyng,
Or hiding or helyng of othir men godes
Ogayne thaire wit, and thaire will that has right to tham.

C. ¶ **Septimum est, Non facies furtum,** in quo prohibetur omnis illicita contractio et detentio rerum alienarum contra voluntatem
98 dominorum vel custodum earumdem.

L. ¶ To kepe þe fro lecchery haue mynde how foul þy body schal be: whan *that* schal be wormys mete. and how gret peynys of helle. þou schalt suffre. but yf þou amende þe. Therfore fle ydylnesse and occasions to þis synne. *and* Maystyr þy flesch be *trauayle* wakynge *and* prayeris./ Avoid occasions of this sin, and keep under thy body.

¶ Who brekys þe sexte comaundement Fornycatouris. Auowtereris. *and* holours./ why fornycatours for þey defoulyn here bodyes in leccherie whylys þey ben sengyl. why avowtererys: For þey brekyn þe sacrament of wedlok./ and why holours: For þey wastyn here bodyes in lecchery. Breakers of this commandment.

Stele þou not þy neyȝborys þyng *with* byinge sellynge ne wrong-getyng } Theft,

THe seuynt commaundement ys þis. Thow schalt do no þefte. þat ys mys-vsynge of þyngys aȝen þe lordys wyl or apreuyng./ Than seþyn alle creaturis ar goodys. who euer mys-dispendys myȝtys of sowle or body or ony oþer goodis agaynst godys law: ys a strong þef be godis ryȝtful dom. what-euer þe word flaterys./ how committed from owners, and spiritually from God.

¶ Also alle þat vsyn to dysseyue her neyȝbors be fals mesurys. fals weyȝtys and deceytis *and* fals oþes: arn strong þefys and bakbyters be godys lawe *and* mannys./ and ar holdyn to make restytucioun aftir here power *and* leue of boþe of þese synnys *and* of oþer./ By false measures and false oaths.

¶ Also al þo þat wast here godis in glotony drunkenesse. pride. *and* lecherie. *and* in oþer vanytes: be parlows theuys. for þey stele fro þore men here sustynaunse./ For þe resydue of þese godys ouer here owne nede: ys pore mennys lyf- By wasting our goods, to the wronging of the poor.

P. *Quartum* est, *Non furtum facies.* In quo explicite prohibetur clandestina detractio rei alienæ invito domino: implicite vero omnis injuriosa, seu per fraudem, seu per usuram, seu per violentiam, seu per metum, rei usurpatio alienæ.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

T. ¶ **The aughtand** biddes us we sall bere
No fals wittenes ogayne our euen-*cr*isten;
In whilk is forboden al maner of lesyng,
Fals co*n*spiracie, *and* forsweryng,
Whare-thurgh our euen-*cr*isten mai lese thair catell,
Faith, favour, or fame, or any thing elles,
Whethir it be in gasteli or bodili godes.

C. ¶ **Octavum est, Non loqueris falsum testimonium contra proximum tuum,** in quo prohibetur omne mendacium et per-
101 jurium, maxime quod aliis est damnosum.

L. lode./ and he þat defrawdys þat good: is a thef *and* a man-qweller as þe wys man seys./

¶ Also al þo. þat drawe riche me*n*nys almes. fro pore bedrede men *and* pore febyl *and* crokyd *and* blynde vndyr colo*ur* of holynesse to hem þat haue no nede þ*er*-to: arn strong theuys. *and* *man-qwellers. for þey take þe godys agayn godys lawe. be whyche: pore me*n* schuld be norischid. and so þey ar thefys agayn ryche men *and* pore, *and* robbe me*n* of feyth *and* good beleue.

Withdrawing alms from the poor on the pretext of holy uses.

[fol. 10 *b*]

¶ Also lordys *and* maystrys þat wyþholdyn here se*r*uau*n*t hyre whan þey haue trewly do here seruyse: ar strong þefys be goddis lawe./

Lords and masters withholding servants' wages.

¶ Also seruau*n*tys þat falsly do here maystir werke *and* take fully here hyre arn thefys be godis dom. Also alle þat do falsly here offyce sp*iri*tual or te*m*peral. *and* takyn here fulle profyt þ*er*fore: ar thefys be godis dom.

Servants taking their masters' wages, and not doing work truly. All that falsely do their office.

Who brekys þe seuynt comau*n*dement. Mechers. Robbers. *and* extorc*i*oners. Why mechers. for þey stelyn p*ri*uyly. Whi robbers. for þey robbyn opynly. whi extorc*i*oners. for þey spoylyn men of here good falsly.

Breakers of this commandment.

Fals wytnesse þow noo*n* beere
þy ney3bore wyttyngly to dere
[*T*] he ey3ten comau*n*dement is þ*is*. þou schalt not speke fals wytnesse ageyns þy neybore.

False witness for love or hate, fear or favour, is renouncing God and going over to the devil;

And he þat for-swerys hy*m* for hate. or for loue. drede or wynny*n*ge: for-sakys god almy3ty *and* betakys hym to þe fend body *and* sowle. *and* to peyne w*ith*-owt ende Namely al þo. þat co*n*streyne men to for-swere hem be here gret lordschip *and* power. and gretly rewardys hem þ*er*fore.

and specially of those who force men to this sin.

P. *Quintum* mandatum est, *Non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium.* In quo explicite prohibetur falsa *testificatio* ad indignum contra merita promovendum. In hoc etiam mandato omne mendacium, sed perniciosum præcipue, condemnatur.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house or land,

T. ¶ **The neynd** is, that we noght yerne our neghtebur house;
In whilk is forboden all urangwise couatise
Of land, or of lithe, or of ought elles,
That mai noght be lifted ne raised fro the ground,
Als thing that is stedefast, *and* mai not be stirred.

nor his wife, maid or servant, ox or ass, or any of his *bona mobilia*,

¶ **The tend** *and* the last is, that we yerne noght
The wife of *our* neghtebur, ne of our eue*n-cri*sten,
Ne his maiden, ne his knaue, his ox nor his asse:
In whilk is forboden us to yerne or to take
Ony thing that may be stirred of othir men godes,

C. ¶ **Nonum est, Non concupisces domum proximi tui,** in quo prohibetur cupiditas cujuscunque rei immobilis proximi tui.
¶ **Decimum est, Non desiderabis uxorem ejus nec servum nec ancillam, non bovem, non asinum, nec omnia quæ ipsius sunt,** in quo omnis cupiditas rerum alienarum mobilium condemnatur.

L. ¶ Also al þo þat lyes on *crist*. seyynge þat he was wordly lord. as clerkys ar now[.] breke fowle þis heste. For *crist* hym-self seyþ. þat his kyngdom ys not of þis world. and of his kyngdom schal neu*er* be ende Also alle þat sey. þat cryst beggyd of men. as su*m* religious dos now: bere fals wytnesse agayn *crist* our*e* best ney3bore. For be goddis owne co*m*mau*n*dement. amo*n*g his pepyl schuld no begg*er* be./ and 3yt crist nedyd not to begge *þus*.

It is a gross breach of this commandment to assert that our Lord exercised secular lordship, like the clergy;

or that he begged, like the mendicant orders;

¶ Also alle þo þat seþe þat newe religio*us* fou*n*dyd of seyntis ys bett*er* þan glene religio*us* of priesthod þat *crist* made hy*m*-self arn fals witnesse. *and* blasfemys god.

or to exalt the regular orders, monks or friars, founded by saints, above clean livers in the priesthood, instituted by Christ himself.

Who brekys þe ey3ten Mau*n*dement. lyers gloseris. and fals qwestmongeris. Whi lyeris. for þe[*y*] hatyn þe trewþe. why gloseris. For þey hydyn þe trewthe *And* why fals qwestmo*n*geris. For þey sellyn þe trewthe./

Breakers of this commandment.

Thy ney3bo*u*rs wif coueyte þou no3t: } [fol. 11]
with here to synne in dede ne þo3t. }

Thy ney3boris hows. wenche ne knaue }
Coueyte hem no3t. ne his goodys to haue }

T[*h*]e nynthe comau*n*dement *and* þe tenthe ar these. Thow schalt not coueyte þy ney3borys wyf. ne his hows ne his se*r*uau*n*t ne his maydyn./ ne his oxe ne his werk-best. ne ony thyng þat ys his. For þe rote of synne *and* wrong couetyse stondys in þe herte./ Therfore god forbedys: euyl couetyse *and* wyl of helle. For 3if

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P. *Sextum* mandatum est, *Non concupisces bonum proximi tui:* supple, cum ejus injuria. In quo mandato implicite inhibetur cupiditas possessionis immobilis, Catholici cujuscunque præcipue.

Septimum mandatum est, *Non desiderabis uxorem proximi tui, non servum, non ancillam, non bovem, non asinum, nec omnia quæ illius sunt.* In quibus verbis omnis cupiditas possessionis rei alienæ quantum ad res mobiles condemnatur.

or chattels not our own of right;

T. As robes or richesse, or othir catell
That we have no gode title, ne no right to.
For what thing so we gete, or tas on othir wise,
We mai noght be assoiled of the trespas,

nor is there absolution without making satisfaction,

Bot if we make assethe in that at we may
To tham that we harmed, withaldand thair godes.
And in cas that we have thurgh fals athes,
Als in assizes or othir enquestes
Wittandly *and* willfalli gere our euen cristen
Lese thaire pat*ri*moyne, or thair heritage,
Or falsly be desesed of land or of lithe,
Or fals diuorce be made, or any man da*m*pned,

nor in cases reserved, except by the bishop or his commissary.

Of all we do, that we may, unto the party,
Yit may we noght be assoiled of our false athe,
Bot of our bisshop or him that has his power,
For swilk cas is riuely reserved til him seluen.

C. ¶ Et sciendum est quod injusti contractores rerum alienarum, et qui per potentiam aut cautelas alias faciunt maliciose et injuste homines perdere quæ sunt sua, absolvi non possunt, donec damnificatis satisfaciant juxta vires, quia non dimittitur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum. Sed qui sunt perjuri in causis matrimonialibus et in juratis et in assisis, ubi de morte hominis, mutilatione membrorum, vel exhæredatione agitur, etiamsi læsis satisfecerint, absolvi non possunt ab inferiori, quam ab episcopo suo diocœsano, vel ab eo cui episcopus super hoc specialiter commiserit vices suas.

L. þat be wel kepte fro euyl desyre of oþer mennys goodys yt ys lyȝt to hold owt alle wrongis *and* harm *and* synne. And þow þe world know þe not or punysch þe not for þy trespas: ȝit leue al for drede *and* reuerence of god. And if þou fynde ony thyng þat þy neyȝebore haþ lost: restore yt agayn. For ellys it is þefte as seynt Austyn seys./ And yf þou breke þese comaundementys or ony of hem alle. also (*al so*) sykyr as god ys god. but þou amend þe in þis lyf. þou schalt be dampnyd in helle in body *and* sowle without ende. þow þou haue a þowsand bullys of pardoun lettris of fraternite and Chauntres aftyr þy deth. And also (*al so*) sekyr as god ys god. ȝif þou kepe wel þese comaundementis þou schalt haue þe blysse of heuyn in body *and* sowle with-owten ende. þow þou haue neuer bulle of pardoun./ ne letter of fraternite. ne Chauntre aftyr þy deþ. Therfore kepe hem wel. *and* do þe werkys of Mercy. to þe nedy pore neyȝebours. and þe erytage of heuyn ys þyn be graunt of cristys gospel. aselyd with his precious blod þat may neuer be fals: for no creature in erthe ne in heuyn.

Restore things lost.

Punishment for persistent breach of commandments is altogether as sure as God is God.

Endless bliss for keeping them without the pope's pardon, or being enrolled in an order, or masses sung after death.

Who brekys þese to comaundementes *and* þe laste./ þey þat wrongfully coveytyn ony thyng in herte: þow þey don yt nat in dede. And þey þat wrongfully in herte coueytyn. *and* to here power don hit in dede. And also þey þat han in herte lust *and* lykynge of suche wrongful coveytynge.

Breakers of the two commandments against coveting.

Contra concupiscentes domum proximi &c ysa. 5°. deut°. 5°. / 19°. / 27°. / 3° re[*gum*]. 21° de acab. concupiscente vineam naboth./

Latin note. Examples of covetousness.

P. (*Not in P.*)

T. (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

[fol. 11 b] ☞ **L.** *Contra adulterium. exo. 20 / deut° 22°. prouer. 6°./ sapien. x°. 2° reg. 11./12./ Adulterium dauid fuit multipliciter punitum. p[rim]°. puer conceptus in illo adulterio fit mort[u]us propter hoc peccatum. [H]aman filius suus congnouit thamar sororem suam. et propter hoc absolon interfecit eum./ Item absolon fugauit patrem suum & regno./ et prius congnouit decem vxores dauid patris sui in ierusalem./ et deturpauit eas in conspectu populi.

Latin note. Examples of adultery.

Rhymed promise to those who keep the commandments.

Thes ar þe comaundementys ten
þat god 3af to alle men:
Mekyl ioy schal be to hem.
þat kepe wel *and* trewly hem.

The joys of heaven,

For schuH be callyd godys sonys. or his dou3tris *and* schulle regne *with* crist here god *and* here fadyr in his mageste *and* so be broþerys *and* sustrys *with* angelys. *and* lyk to hem þat ar bry3ter þan þe sunne bemys./ schynyng euer in ioy *with*-outen ende. Ful wo þan schul þey be þat forsake swyche a cumpany þer merthe lastys euyr. for a schort delyt of þe flesch: *and* for a lyte wyl of þe herte þat he wyl not 3eve to hys god. And aftyrward for þat schort delyt brenne in helle fyre as longe as angelis *and* holy seyntis make mery in heuyn *with* here lord god þat is euer-more. And þan schulle þey sey eche tyl oþer thorw3 trew dom of god. wo to vs. wo to vs: euyr brennynge in byttyr fyre. For we haue deseruyd non oþer hyre. *and* þerfore derknesse haþ swolwyd vs. þat we schul neuer se: þe day of amendynge. ¶ Therfore kepe we þese comaundementes of god in drede of hym: þat we for-3ete hem not. For whan man dredys not: he sone for-getys þat he schulde do./ Therfore kepe we þese comaundementes *and* god schal þanke vs. For who-so kepis hem *with* al

and pains of hell.

L. his herte: he doþ more kendenesse to god: þan ony broþer may do to anoþer And also yf he kepe hem not he doþ to god more vnkendenesse þan ony broþer may do to anoþer. For more vn-
940 kendenesse may no man do: þan for to grucche *and* set lytyl pris be þe comaundement of his lord þat is his maker. *and* made hym thorwe his kendnesse lyk to hym-self in schap. *and* to haue þe blysse of his godhed And yf we with-stond þat
945 lord þat made vs for oure owne profyt: we do þe most vnkendenesse þat may be wroȝt./ Therfore ho-so felys hym agreuyd in ony of þese: his medcyn most *be to amende hym *and* breke ham no more in as moche as he may *and* be euer sory
950 whan he thynkys þat he has brokyn ony of hem not only for þe peyne þat he haþ deseruyd: but for he haþ greuyd god so vnkendely. And þan þe grace of god schal lyȝt vpon hym And blyssid be suche a remedy þat þorwȝ foul wyl vnkendely:
955 *and* wykkyd is wroȝt: þorwȝ ordeynynge of good wil. ys forȝevyn. And yf þou wilt ordeyne þy wil to haue for-ȝefnesse: loke þou withstande sadly þe furst begynnynge of þe temptacoun of þe fend *and* not consent to hym for nothyng with þy wyl.
960 whan þou art temptyd *and* þan þou schalt lyȝtly ouercom hym *and* þou schalt ioye be-for god: for þat good wyl./ For as many temptaciouns as þou withstondis for godys sake: as many crownys wynnyst þou of god./ Fayn þan may þou be to
965 thynk whan þou art temptyd. *and* sey to þy self. a[!] now I may chese wheþer I wyl falle with a heuy byrden toward helle: *and* y consent to þe fend: Or ellys to be lyfted vp with a glorious corone toward god / Ilke man þat haþ resun: wot
970 wheþer ys better to chese./ And þerfore no man may be excusyd./

The unkindness of not keeping the commandments of God,

who has shown kindness to us.

The remedy thereof.

[fol. 12]

T. ¶ This ten Comandements that I haue nowe rekend
Er umbilouked in twa of the godspell,
LUCE X°. CAP°.
The tane is we love god ouer al thinges,
The tothir that we love our euen-cristen als we do oure selven.
For god augh us to love halye with hert,

With al our might, with al our thought, with word and with deid:
Our euen-cristen alswa augh us to loue
Un-to that ilk gode that we loue us selven,

That is, that thai welefare in bodi *and* in saule,
And cum to that ilk blisse that we think to.
Who-so dos this twa fulfilles the othir.
¶ THE THIRD THING OF THE SEX that I first touched
Is the seuen sacrementz that halikirk gifes

These ten commandments are comprehended in the two commandments of the Gospel.

The seven sacraments,

C. ¶ **Hæc autem decem mandata prædicta** in duobus mandatis Evangelii virtualiter includuntur, quæ duo sunt dilectio Dei et proximi.

¶ Deum enim debet quilibet Christianus principaliter ex toto corde diligere, et plus amore quam timore; et proximum suum sicut seipsum, id est ad omne bonum ad quod diliget semet ipsum.

¶ Et qui hæc duo perfecte observat, omnia decem mandata adimplet.

¶ **Tertio sciendum, est quod tres sunt virtutes principales**

[*The authorized English does not here keep to the order of the original Latin, where the Theological and Cardinal Virtues come after the Commandments, and before the Sacraments.*
For the sake of more easy comparison, the lines here omitted, C. 126—151, *are printed with the English, but the lines are numbered as they follow in the original. Post page* 76.]

¶ **Quarto septem sunt gratiæ sacramenta,** videlicet baptismus, confirmatio, eucharistia, pœnitentia, extrema unctio, ordo,

L. ¶ These ten comaundementis þat y haue reknyd. ar closyd in two of þe gospel./

The on ys þis. þat we loue god ouer al þyngis./
þat oþer is: þat we loue oure owyn evyn-cristyn as oure self./
God vs owe to loue for hym self holly with al oure herte.
with myȝt: *and* with al oure thoȝt with word. *and* with dede./
Also we owe to loue oure euyn-cristyn for god.
and to coueyte. *and* to wille hem þe same good þat we loue oure self to.
þat is: þat þey wel fare in body *and* sowle.
and com to þat blysse þat we þynke to come to.
who-so doþ þese two: fulfillyþ al þe oþer./

Þe þrydde þyng of þe sex to know god almyȝti ys þe seuyn sacramentys / of holy chirche þat he geuys

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P. His autem decem mandatis duo superaddit evangelium: Dilectionem scilicet Dei et proximi.

Deum diligit, qui dicta mandata ex amore, non timore pœnæ, principaliter custodit. Proximum autem debet quilibet diligere, sicut semetipsum. Ubi hæc conjunctio "*sicut*" non dicit æqualitatem, sed conformitatem, ut videlicet diligas proximum tuum ad quod teipsum, hoc est, ad bonum, non ad malum; et quomodo teipsum, hoc est, spiritualiter, non carnaliter, secundum quod carnalitas dicit vitium. Item quantum teipsum, hoc est, in prosperitate et adversitate, sanitate et infirmitate. Item quantum teipsum respectu temporalium, pro tanto; ut plus diligas omnem hominem et singulum, quam omnem affluentiam temporalium. Item sicut teipsum, pro tanto, ut plus diligas proximi tui animam, seu animæ salutem æternam, quam tuam vitam propriam temporalem; sicut animæ tuæ vitam debes vitæ tuæ carnis præponere. Item qualiter teipsum, ut videlicet omni alii in necessitate subvenias, sicut tibi velles in necessitate consimili subveniri: hæc omnia intelliguntur, cum dicitur, *diligas proximum tuum sicut teipsum.*

Septem etiam sunt *Gratiæ Sacramenta*, quorum dispensatores Ecclesiæ sunt prælati, quorum Sacramentorum quinque debent

T. Thurgh prelates and othir *prests* that has *the* power.

including matrimony.

Of whilk seue*n*, the first fyve ilk a *cris*ten man
Augh lawfully to take aftir his eld is;
And twa lies in thair wille that ressayves tham,

Baptism

¶ **The first** sacrement of seue*n* is our baptisme,
That we take the first tyme that we becum *cris*ten,
In whilk bathe the first syn that we er born with,

washes away original and actual sin.

And alkyn othir syn, is wasshen oway,
that we er filed with ar we take it;
And the trouthe of halikirk is taken thare-in
Withouten whilk na synfulman saule may be saued.

Four conditions necessary to the right administration.

And to this sacrement falles foure thinges,
If it sal rightly be taken als halikirk techis:

1. Form of words.

Ane is right saying *and* shap of the wordes
That him augh for to sai, that gyffes this sacrement
That er thise: I BAPTIZE THE IN THE NAME OF THE FADIR & THE SON, & THE HALI GAST.

2. In water.

¶ Another is, that it be done anely in water,
For nanothir licour is leuefull tharfore.

C. et matrimonium; quorum quinque prima ab omnibus debent recipi Christianis, sed duo ultima ordo, videlicet, et matrimonium
156 sunt voluntaria.

¶ Et ista sacramenta sunt per prælatos et sacerdotes tantummodo dispensanda: excepto solo sacramento baptismi, quod in articulo necessitatis potest et debet a quacunque ("*quocunque.*" MS.) persona indifferenter ministrari, viro vel etiam muliere, servatis omnino quatuor conditionibus infrascriptis.

¶ **In baptismo** quidem deletur omne peccatum tam originale quam actuale; et fides suscipitur sine qua nemo salvari potest.

¶ Sunt autem in baptismo quatuor principaliter observanda:
166 viz. forma verborum, ut Ego baptizo te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

¶ Item quod fiat in aqua et non in alio liquore.

L. þorwȝ *pr*elatys. *and* o*þer* *pr*estys þat haue power
*þer*to./
Of whyche seuen þe fyrste fyue eche man cristyn
owe lawfully to take aftyr þat he old ys./
And tuo ly in here wil þat resseyuȝt hem.
The fyrste sac*ra*ment of þe seuyn ys oure bapteme
þat we take furst. wha*n* we be-come cr*i*styn.
in whiche byrthe. bo*þe* þe fyrst syn þat we be
bor*n* yn.
and al mane*r* o*þer* synnys ar waschyn a-way:
þat we be fowlyd yn: er þat we yt take.
And þe trewþe of holy chirche *ys takyn *þer*yn. [fol. 12 b]
*wi*thowtyn whiche no man þat is sinful in sowle
may be sauyd.
And to *þi*s sac*ra*ment fallyþ foure þynge*s*
yf it schal ryȝtful be take as holy chirche techys./
On ys ryȝt seyyng *and* scharp of wordys
þat hym owys for to say þat gyfys *þi*s sacrament
þe whiche ar these.
I baptize þe In þe name of þe fadyr. *and* þe sone.
and þe holy gost./
Ano*þer* is þat yt be don only in watyr
For noo*n* o*þer* lycou*r* ys lefful *þer*fore.

P. recipi ab omnibus Christianis, utpote baptismus, confirmatio,
131 pœnitentia, eucharistia suo tempore, et extrema unctio,

[*From this place* **P.** *is printed without reference to the proper sequence of the text, in order to correspond with* **T.**]

3. Intention in the minister.

T. ¶ The third is, that he that gyffes this sacrement
Be in wit and in will for to gyff it.

4. Not to be iterated,

¶ And the ferthe is, that he that takes it
Be nouthir of lered, ne of lawed, baptized before;
For if the prest be in were of him that sal take it,

[fol. 296 b]

but in case of doubt, to be administered with a conditional form.

Whethir he be baptized *or he be noght,
Than sall he sai the wordes opon this wise—
If thou be noght baptized, I baptize the
In the name of the fadir *and* the son and the haligast.

In Confirmation bishops confer the grace of the Holy Ghost upon those who receive the Sacrament, to strengthen them against the devil;

¶ **The secund** sacrement is confermyng
That the bisshop gives to tham that er baptized,
That giffes thurgh his power to tham that tas it

The grace and the giftes of the haligast
To make tham mare stalworth than thai ware before
To stand ogaynes the fend, *and* dedely syn,

and this only bishops, as successors of the Apostles.

That nane has power to do bot bisshop allane
That has the state *and* the stede of *cristes* apostels.

Penance is genuine repentance.

¶ **The third** sa*crement* is cald penaunce,
That is sothefast forthinking we have of our syn

C. ¶ Item quod baptizans habeat intentionem baptizandi, et quod baptizandus non sit prius baptizatus.

¶ Et si dubium fuerit, dicendum est, Si non es baptizatus, Ego baptizo te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

¶ **Virtus et effectus confirmationis** est conferre gratiam Spiritus sancti et virtutes homini baptisato, ad augmentum, fortificationem, seu roborationem contra diabolum et peccata.

¶ Hoc autem sacramentum tantum dari potest ab Episcopis qui locum tenent Apostolorum.

[*In the Latin of the Convocation, the Sacrament of the Eucharist follows Confirmation. See post page* 66.]

¶ **Pœnitentia** est peccata plangere et ea ulterius non com-

L. The þrydde ys. þat he þat ȝeuys þis sacrament
be in wyl *and* wyt for to ȝeue yt.
¶ The ferthe is þat he þat takys yt
be nyþer of leryd ne lewd baptyȝed be-fore./
And yf þe prest be in dowte of hym þat schal
tak hit
wheþer he be Baptyȝid or noȝt:
þan schal he seye þe wordys in þese wyse./
ȝif þou be not baptiȝid: I bapty3 þe
in þe name of þe fadyr. *and* þe sone. *and* þe holy
gost.
¶ The secunde sacrament ys confermynge
þat þe byschop ȝyuyþ to hem þat ar baptyȝid
in þe whyche he ȝeuyþ þorwȝ his power to hym
þat takys hyt
be þe grace *and* þe gyftis of þe holy gost
þat is of godis graunt to make hem more stalworþ
þan þey were be-fore.
to withstonde þe fende *and* alle dedly synnys.
That sacrament owys noon to do. but þe byschop
alone.
þat haþ þe stat *and* þe stede of cristys apostyl.
¶ The þrydde sacrament is clepyd Penaunce
þat is soþfast forthynkyng þat we haue for oure
synnys

The bishop, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, which is of God's grant, gives to those who receive the sacrament to be stronger than before.

P. 131 baptismus, confirmatio, pœnitentia.

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T. Withouten will or thoght to *turn*e ogayne to it.

And to this is required: And this behoues haue thre thinges if it be stedefast:

1. Contrition. 311 Ane is sorow of *our* hert that we have synned;

2. Confession. Anothir is open shrift of our mouth how we haf synned,

3. Satisfaction. And the third is rightwise amendes makyng for that we haf synned.

This thre, with gode will to forsake our syn,

315 Clenses us *and* washes us of alkyn synnes.

The Sacrament of the Altar is Christ's body, as whole as when he first took it. **The ferthe** is the sacrement of the auter,
Cristes owen bodi in likeness of brede,
Als hale as he toke it of that blessed maiden;
Whilk ilk man *and* woman, that of eld is,

It ought to be received at Easter, 320 Aught forto resceyve anes in the yhere,
That is at sai, at paskes, als hali kirke uses,
When thai er clensed of syn thurgh penaunce,

except for reasonable cause, which must be made known to the minister. Of payne of doyng out of hali kirke.
Bot if thai forbere it be skilwise cause,
325 That aught to be knawen to thaim that sal gif it,

Worthy reception is salvation, but unworthy is damnation. For he that takes it worthili, takes his salvation,

And who-so unworthili, takes his dampnation.

C. mittere, cujus tres sunt partes, scilicet cordis contritio, oris confessio, et operis satisfactio.

Contritio debet esse devota intima et amara.

¶ **Confessio** debet esse humilis, nuda, et integra, declarans
185 facti circumstantias peccatum aggravantes.

Satisfactio est libens et læta injunctæ pœnitentiæ completio.

Sed frequens et amara debet esse peccati recordatio, per quod
188 quis ingrate suum præsumpsit offendere Redemptorem.

178 ¶ **Eucharistia** est vivum corpus Christi: et illud, si digne sumatur, sumenti proficit ad vitam æternam, si indigne sumatur
180 ædificat ad gehennam.

L. wyþ-owt wyl or þo3t to *tur*ne agayn *per*to./
And *þi*s be-houys haue þre thyngys 3if hit be stedfast./
On ys sorw of herte of þat *þat* we haue sy*n*nyd.
Ano*þer* ys opyn schryft of our*e* mowþ how we haue sy*n*nyd.
The þyrde is amendys makyng for *þat* we haue do.
These þre *with* good wil for to forsake our*e* sy*n*nys
clensys vs *and* weschys vs of alle m*aner* sy*n*nys.
¶ The ferþe ys þe sac*rament* of þe awter
cristys owne body in lyknesse of bred. The Body of Christ is just as He took it of the Blessed Virgin.
ry3t as he tok yt. of þe blyssyd Maydyn **Marie**
whiche euery m*an* *þat* ys of elde:
owe to resseyue onys in þe 3er*e*.
þat ys to seye at Paske as holy chirche vsyþ.
wha*n* þey ar clensyd clene of syn*n* thorw3 penau*n*ce.
vp[*on*] peyne of doyng out of holy chirche.
but 3if þey for-bere yt for ony skylful cawse.
þat owyþ for to be knowyn to hym *þat* schal 3eue hyt. Those who receive worthily, receive to their salvation; [fol. 13]
For he *þat* takys yt worthyly takys hit *to hys saluacioun. and those who receive unworthily, to their damnation.
And who *þat* takys yt vnworþily: he takyþ hit to his da[*m*]pnacioun

P. 131 pœnitentia, eucharistia suo tempore, et extrema unctio,

Extreme unction, or anointing of those of a reasonable age who appear to be in danger of death.

T. **The fift sacrement** is the last enoynting
With oyle that is halowed *and* handeled of *prest*
To tham that he wate er of skillwise elde,
And that he seis sikerly in peril of dede,
In lightenes and alegeaunce of their sekenesse,
If god wil that thai *turne* ogayne until hele,
And als in forgyuenesse of venyale synnes,
And in lessyne of payne, if thai passe hethen.

Rightful ordering empowers men to serve according to their degree,

¶ **The sext sacrement** of halikirke is Ordir,
That giffes power to tham that rightwisely tas it
For to serve in halikirk aftir thair state is,
And to tham that takes the ordir of prest

and priests to minister the sacraments allotted to them.

For to *serue and* for to minister sacrements of halikyrk, that to tham falles
Aftir the state that thai haue, *and* thair degree askes.

Matrimony joins together man and wife so long as they both shall live, as a remedy against sin and a means of grace.

¶ **The sevent** sacrement is Matirmonye,
That is, a lawefull festenyng betwix man *and* woman,
At thair bother assent for to lyve samen
Withouten ony lousyng to thair life lastes,

In remedi of syn, *and* getyng of grace,
If it be taken in gode attent and clennesse of lif.

C. ¶ **Extrema Unctio** est pœnæ spiritalis aliqualis alleviatio quæ tantum debet dari adultis, qui gravis infirmitatis indiciis
192 videntur mortis appropinquare periculo, tamen, si potest commode fieri, detur dum infirmi sunt compotes rationis.

¶ **Ordo, rite collatus,** dat potestatem rite ordinatis ministrandi in ecclesia et conferendi ecclesiastica sacramenta—unicuique
196 juxta statum et ordinem quæ suscepit.

¶ **Matrimonium est** viri et mulieris conjunctio individua, vitæ retinens consuetudinem, et in isto sacramento etiam confertur gratia si puro corde et sincero animo contrahatur.

L. ¶ The fyfte sac*rament* ys. þe last anoy*nt*yng.
*wit*h oyle þ*at* is halwyd *and* handlyd of p*re*st
to hem þat arn of skylful elde.
and semyn in p*er*el of deþ:
in lyȝtnesse *and* aleggaun*ce* of here seknesse
yf god wile þ*at* þey t*ur*ne agayn to þe hele /
and also in forȝefnesse of venial synnys.
and in lessyng of peyne yf þey passe hens.
¶ The sexte sac*ra*me[n]t of holy chirche is. ordyr
þ*at* geuys power to hem þ*at* ryȝtfully takyn hit
for to serue in holy chirche aftyr her stat ys.
and to hem þ*at* takyn þe ordyr of p*re*st
for to synge Messis. *and* for to mynystr*e* þe
sacrament*es* of holy chirche
þ*at* to hem fallyn aftyr þe stat þ*at* þei han *and*
here degre askyþ.
¶ The seuen*t* sac*rament* *and* þe last ys. Mat*ri*mony.
þ*at* ys a lawful fastny*n*ge be-twyx man *and*
wo*m*man
at here bothe assent. for to lyue to-gydyr
whyle here boþe lyuys wyl laste *with*oute eny
party*n*ge
in remedy of synne and getynge of grace:
yf hit be taken of good entent: *and* clennesse of
lyfe.

P. quæ tantum illis dari debet, qui gravis infirmitatis indiciis videntur mortis appropinquare periculo: veruntamen si fieri potest, detur dum fuerint compotes mentis et rationis. Et si contingat eos phrenesi, vel quacunque alienatione mentis laborare; si ante alienationem erant de sua salute solliciti, consulimus nihilominus eis hoc sacramentum fiducialiter ministrari. Credimus enim et experimentis didicimus, quamtumcunque phrenetico (si tamen sit prædestinationis filius) istius susceptionem, vel ad habendum lucidum intervallum, vel ad spirituale commodum, utpote ad augmentum gratiæ, profuturum.

Sunt duo alia sacramenta, scilicet, ordo et matrimonium. Quorum primum perfectis convenit: secundum vero novi testamenti tempore solum convenit imperfectis; et tamen per ipsum ex vi sacramenti credimus largiri gratiam, si sincero animo contrahatur.

The seven works of mercy,

T. ¶ **The ferthe thing of the sex to knaw God almighten,**

That us behoues fulfill in al that we mai,
Is the seuen dedis of merci until our euen-cristen

That god sal reherce us opon the dai of dome,
and wit how we haf done tham here in this lyfe,
Als sainct matheu mas mynde in his godspell.
—xxv°. capitulo.—

to the hungry, ¶ **Of whilk the first** is to fede tham that er hungry.

the thirsty, ¶ **That othir,** for to gif tham drynk that er thirsty.

the naked, ¶ **The third,** for to clethe tham that er clatheless.

the strangers, ¶ **The ferthe** is to herber tham that er houselesse.

the sick, ¶ **The fifte,** for visite tham that ligges in sekenesse.

the prisoners, ¶ **The sext,** is to help tham that in prison er.

the dead. ¶ **The sevent,** to bery dede men that has mister.

¶ Thise er the seuen bodily dedis of merci
That ilk man augh to do that is mighty.

¶ *Unde versus,* vestio, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo.

C. ¶ **Item sex sunt opera misericordiæ quæ in evangelio recitantur.**

¶ **Primum** est pascere famelicum.

¶ **Secundum** potare sitientem.

¶ **Tertium hospitare peregrinos** et pauperes.

¶ **Quartum** vestire nudum.

¶ **Quintum** visitare infirmum.

¶ **Sextum** consolari carceri mancipatum.

¶ **Et septimum** colligi potest ex Tobia, videlicet, sepeliri corpora mortuorum.

L. **Septem opera corporalia misericordie**

The ferthe thyng of þe sex to know god almyȝthi
is. þat vs be-houys to knowe
þe seuen dedys of *mer*cy bodyly *and* gostly.
and to fulfylle he*m* in al þat we may.
and do he*m* to our euyn-*cris*ten vp-on peyne of dam*p*nacioun.
For god schal reherce he*m* to vs at þe day of dom.
and se how we haue don ham to our euyn-*cris*tyn.
as seynt Mathew seyþ in þe gospel./

Of þe whiche þe fyrst ys to fede hem þat be hu[*n*]gry.
That o*per* is. to ȝeue he*m* drynke þat be þursty.
The þridde for to clo*þ*e hem. þat ben clo*þ*les.
The ferthe is. to herberwȝe pore me*n*. þat ben herberwȝles.
The fyfte to co*n*forte *and* helpe me*n* in p*ri*sou*n*.
The sexte is to visite and co*n*forte hem þat be seke.
The seuen*t* is. to bery he*m* þat have nede.
Al man*er* of me*n* ben holdyn be godys lawe
to do þese seuyn bodyly werkys of *mer*cy. promises to those who do these works to the best of their power,
vp-on here power. and who-eu*er* do þese werkys of *mer*cy trewly
be his power: he schal haue þe blysse of heuyn
as crist sayþ in þe gospel. *and* schewis opu*n*ly.

P. Sex autem *Opera Misericordiæ* ex Matthæi evangelio patefiunt, quæ sunt:
Pascere famelicum, hoc est, famem habentem.
Potare sitibundum.
Hospitio recipere peregrinum.
Vestire nudum.
Visitare infirmum.
Consolari carceri mancipatum.
Septimum vero ex Tobia colligitur, quod est, Sepelire mortuorum corpora.

T. (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

L. Therfore sayþ **Crist** whan þou makyst a feste or a
1082 calle noon to þe ryche men. [soper
to the poor but pore men. Febyl. Crokyd. *and* blynde.
And hit schal qwyt to þe in þy laste day.
[fol. 13 *b*] 1085 ¶ And *also be þe prophete ysaye god seyes.
Breke þy bred to þe hungry and bryng in-to þyn hows nedy men.
and needy. *and* þo þat haue noon hous of here owne.
whan þou seist a nakyd man hele hym:
and dispise not þy broþer.
The cursedness of those [friars] who snatch rich men's alms away from the poor. 1090 ¶ lord how cursyd be þe ypocritys. þat be fals ypocrisy.
ravischyn ryche mennys almes fro pore nedy men.
where god byddis almes be don: *and* drawys yt to hem self to make nedles howsys.
and grete festys to ryche men. *and* oþir vanitees.
Hit semyþ þe fend bryngis yn suche ypocritys to disseyue þe ryche men
1095 of here almes. *and* of feyth. *and* of cristis gospel.
For in almes wel don: stondys moche remissioun of synnys.
þerfore, þe fend castys be sotel ypocrisy: to fordo þys almes.

Causa monens ad opera misericordie

The example of Christ and our own reason should stir us to do these works. A general steryng be Crystys lyf *and* Resun for to fulfylle þese werkys of mercy.
1100 ¶ Furst men schuld wilfully fede pore hungry men *and* þrusty.
For in þat: þey fede iesu Crist as he hym self sayþ in þe gospel.
To this end are the gifts of nature and grace; And also Iesu crist gyfys body *and* sowle lyf *and* catel to vs for þis ende.
and fedis vs wyþ his flesch *and* his blod in þe sacrament of þe awter.

L. *and* gaf hys *precious* herte blod on þe cros
to bryng vs owt of Mischef of synnys *and* paynys.
¶ þan resonnably ow we to ȝeue mete *and* drynke
to nedy m*en* of his owne goodis.
For hys loue *and* reward of heuyn blysse. *and* more encrese of wordly goodys. — and the reward, heavenly bliss and earthly prosperity.
¶ Also skylfully we owe to cloþe þe nakyd pore m*en* — It is reason we should clothe the naked,
sethen crist gyfys gloþis to *þis* ende.
and he hym self was strepid nakyd.
and betyn. *and* suffryd moche cold for our nede.
And ȝif we do *þis* wel he wyle cloþe oure sowlys
with ver*tues* *and* grace in body *and* sowle
with þe stole of vndedlynesse *and* blysse of heuyn.
And we owe wel to herberwe pore herberwȝles m*en* for *cris*tys loue. — and house the homeless;
sethyn *crist* for oure nede com doun fro heuyn
and leuyd in *þis* world pore lyf.
and had non hous of his owyn be worldly tytyl.
and offrid al hys body on þe cros.
and his herte to be pynyd *and* persyd *with* a spere. — for Christ has gained a home
for to bryng vs in-to þe hows of holy chirche. — for us.
and in-to þe hows of heuyn in blysse *with*-owtyn ende.
¶ Be gret resoun owe we to vysite seke m*en*
sethyn *crist for oure nede deyd on þe cros. — [fol. 14]
to bryng vs out of seknesse *and* synne. *and* kepes vs out of bodily seknesse? — He healed our sickness,
for we schuld help oþer seke men. *and* be *þis* help deserue þe blyss of heuyn.
¶ Also we owe be gret resun to com*fort* m*en* in presoun. — and visited us when fast bound in sin.
Seþen *crist* was þre *and* thyrty ȝere in gret *pre*soun *and* paynful in *þis* world.
and sparid not for no cold ne hungyr ne oþer peynys
to visyte vs. þat were in *pri*soun of synne.

A rhyming enumeration of the seven spiritual works of mercy.

T. ¶ Thare er of *merci* allso seue*n* gasteli dedis
That us augh to do to tham that has nede til us:

Counsel. ¶ Ane is to consaile *and* wisse tham that er will.

Reproof. ¶ A nothir is to withdrawe tham that will wirk ill.

Consolation. ¶ The third is to solace tham that er sorowfull.

Prayer for sinners. ¶ The ferthe is to pray for tham that er sinful.

Patience. ¶ The fifte is to be tholemode when men misdos us.

Forgiveness. ¶ The sext gladly to forgyf when men has greued us.

C. (*Spiritual works of mercy not in Latin original;*

L. ne sparid not to visite men þat were in helle for horrour of þat place.

¶ Lord whi schuld venym or stynk lette vs to visite men in presun. Why should infection or stink keep us from jail and prisoners for the truth sake.

sythyn þey be many tymes presonyd for hate *and* for trewthe þat þey mayntene,

and many tymys for ensampyl of vs: god suffrys hem þus to be pynyd

for we schuld drede gretter þe peynys of helle.

¶ We owe to bery pore dede men in tyme of nede. We should bury the dead, for Christ was willing to die for us.

sythyn crist wilfully suffryd so hard deth

in þe mount of caluerye for oure synnys

And þese werkys of Mercy be vndon.

he schal dampne vs to helle with-outyn ende.

And yf we do hem trewly: he wil bryng vs to heuyn with-outen ende. Amen.

.vij. opera spiritualia misericordie

Per be seuen werkys of gostly mercy. þat god chargis more þan þe werkys of bodily mercy.

and þey be bettyr and esyer to fulfylle.

The fyrst is to teche men þat be vncunnynge of goddys lawe. Teaching.

¶ The secunde is to counseyl men in dowte whiche is sekyr. wey to plese god. Counsel.

¶ The þridde ys to chastyse hem þat be rebel azenst godis comaundementys. Reproof.

¶ þe ferthe is to conforte men. þat be in care *and* disese. Consolation.

¶ The fyfte is to for-3eue rancour of herte. hate. *and* envye Forgiveness.

¶ The sexte is to suffre paciently. Patience.

whan men be out of pacience, resoun *and* mesoure.

P. *nor in the Constitutions of Archbishop Peckham.*)

Teaching.

T. ¶ The seuent, when men askes us for to her tham, if we can mare than thai for to lere tham.

The spiritual works of mercy,

UNDE versus, Consule, castiga, solare, remitte, fer, ora,
Instrue si poteris: sic cristo carus haberis.

needful for others, and profitable to ourselves.

¶ Thise til our neghtebors er ful nedefull,
And to tham that dos tham wondir medefull,
For he sal find merci that mercifull is,
And man withouten merci of merci sal misse.

The seven Christian Virtues.

¶ THE FIFTE THING of the sex to knaw god Almighten
Is the seuen vertues that haliwrit techis,

[*See Note, page* 60.]

C. ¶ **Tertio sciendum, est quod tres sunt virtutes principales**
scilicet, fides, spes et caritas,

L. ¶ The seuent *and* þe last is to pray erly *and* late for oure enmys. as crist byddys in þe gospel. Prayer for enemies.

Euery man poꝛe *and* riche may do alle þese: whaneu*er* he wyl Rich and poor are able to do these spiritual works, and they are better than mercy shewn to the body.

in o man*er* or in anoþ*er*. *and* he is neu*er* þe porer.

and þey bryngge sowlys out of mischefys of synne.

Therfore as þe sowle is bett*er* þan þe body:

So þese gostly m*er*cyes be bett*er* þan þe bodyly m*er*cyes.

¶ A / lord how cursyd be þey. þ*at* may ly3tly do þese werkys of gostly m*er*cy A curse on those who do them not;

and do not.

sythe*n* þey *be so cursyd of god þ*at* do nat þe werkys of bodyly m*er*cy. [fol. 14 *b*]

þ*at* ar not so esy ne so p*r*ofytable.

¶ But how moche more be þei cursyd of god: þ*at* bynde he*m*-self wilfully. and specially on those who of free will are pledged to do them,

and takyn moche mede to do þese werkys of gostly m*er*cy.

As do Curatis *and* p*r*elatis. *and* 3it do hem nat,

but lettys oþ*er* men to fulfylle hem be feynyd iurisdictiou*n* but hinder others, when they have neither power nor knowledge nor the will themselves.

whan þey he*m*-self may not. con not. or wyl not.

for worldly bysynesse or ese of here body.

¶ hyt semyþ be many resonys. þ*at* þey be more c*ur*syd þan scariot or Symon Magus.

and deppyr schul be da*m*pnyd.

but yf þey amend hem fully in þis lyf.

Septe*m* virtutes.

The fyfte þyng of þe sex to know god almy3ty

is þe .vij. vertues þ*at* holy writ techys.

P. 176 Septem sunt *Principales Virtutes*, scilicet fides, spes, charitas,

Three towards God;

T. Of whilk seuen the thre first, that er heued thewes,
Teches us how to haue us untò god almighten,
four in respect to ourselves and our neighbour.
And the four techis us swa for to lyf
Bathe onentes our self and our euen-cristen
That it be bathe likand to god *and* to man.

Faith

¶ **The firste** vertue is trouthe, whar thurgh we trow
Anely in a God, that made al thinges,
With al the othir articles I touched before;
And this is nedefull til all that cristen lifes,
is the beginning of good works; but nothing worth without works, [fol. 297] nor can works be pleasing to God without it.
For trouthe is beginyng of al gode werkes:
For nouthir is trouth worth withouten gode werkes,
Ne ne *werk withouten trouth mai pai god almighten.

Hope, both through God's goodness and our own good works;

¶ **The tothir** gode thewe *and* vertue is hope,
That is a siker abyding of gastely gode
Thurgh goddes godeness, *and* our gododis,
For to come to that blisse that never mare blinnes
Not anely in traiste of goddes godeness
Ne alanely in traist of our gododedis,
Bot in traist of tham when thai er bathe samen.

neither despairing,

For nouthir sal we fall so ferr in al wanhope
That we ne sall traist to have blisse if we wele do,

nor presuming.

Ne we ne sal noght come so ferre in-til our hope
That we sal traist so mikel of goddes godeness,

C. quæ theologicæ appellantur, et a solis fidelibus possidentur.

¶ **Fides** est virtus, qua creduntur quæ ad Christianæ religionis pertinent fundamentum, et consistit principaliter in articulis prænotatis.

¶ **Spes** est certa futuræ beatitudinis expectatio, proveniens ex meritis gratiaque divina; sed hæc habet duo contraria, plurimum viciosa, scilicet desperationem et præsumptionem, a quibus cavere debemus. Nam cum Deus sit misericors, nemo desperare debet, quia quacunque hora peccator veraciter pœnituerit salvus erit; et cum Deus sit justus, nullus sub fiducia misericordiæ peccare præsumat, cum solis pœnitentibus venia concedatur.

L. Of whiche seuen þre þe (*sic*) fyrste þat be
souerayne vertues
we owe for to haue toward god almyȝty.
And þe oþer foure techyn vs so for to lyue:

þat yt be lykynge to god *and* to man.
¶ The furste vertu is **Feyþ.**
wher-by we trowe only in god. þat alle þyngys made
with alle þe artyclys: þat y be-fore seyde.
And þis is nedful to alle þat tristyly lyuys.
For trewthe is begynnyge of alle gode werkys./
But noþer trewthe *with*oute good werke/
ne good werk *with*-outyn trewthe may plese god
almyȝty.
The secund vertu is **Hope.**
þat is a sikyr bydyng of gostly good
þorwȝ godis goodnesse: *and* oure owne good dedys.
For to come to þat blysse þat neuer schal haue ende.
Not only in trust of goddis goodnesse:
ne al only in trust of oure good dedys.
but in trust of hem bothe: whan þey be bothe
to-gydyr.
For neyþer schal we falle so far in wanhope /
þat we ne schal truste to haue þat blysse. yf we
wel do.
Ne we schal nat truste so fer in þe mercy of god:
þat we leue goode dedys vn-don.

P. quæ ad Deum ordinantur, ac idcirco theologicæ appellantur:

T. That we sal hope to have blisse withouten gode dedis.

Charity,

406 ¶ **The third** *ver*tu or thew is charite,
The whilk is a dere loue that us augh to haue
Unto god almighten and all our euen-*cris*ten
for God, Unto god almighten al for him-selven,
and man. 410 And al our euen-cristen for god almighten
For the tane may nought be loued withouten the
• tothir,
For als that saint Iohan sais in his epistell
—ca°. iiij^to.—
That comandement, he sais, we have of god almighten,
That wha-soeu*er* loues god, loues his euen cristen;
415 For he that loues noght his brothir, wham he mai se,
how suld he loue god almighten that he seis noght.

Justice renders to all their due,

¶ **The ferthe vertu** or thewe is rightwisenesse,
That is to yheld to al men that we augh tham,
For to do til ilk man that us augh to do,

honour to whom honour,

420 For to worship tham that er worthi,

C. ¶ **Caritas est** qua diligitur Deus propter se; et proximus propter Deum.

¶ **Quatuor vero virtutes cardinales sunt,** justitia, prudentia, 140 fortitudo et temperantia.

¶ **Justitia** enim constat in recte reddendis judiciis, et debitis

L. For *with* oute goode dedys: we come neu*er* into heuyn.
and but we holde specialy þe byddyng of god
¶ þe þyrde ver*tu* is **Charite.** þe whiche ys fulnesse of loue
to god almyȝty *and* to oure euyn-cristyn./
To god almyȝty as for hym-self.
and to oure euyn-cristyn for god almyȝty.
For þ*at* on may not be louyd: *with*outyn þ*at* op*er*.

For as Seynt **Jon** seyþ in his **Pystyl.**

þat *comau*nd*em*e*n*t we haue of god. [fol. 15¹

þ*at* who-so eu*er* louys god: lovys his euyn cristyn.
For ho þ*at* louyþ nat his bro*þer* whom he may se;
how schold he loue god. who*m* he seys nat.
¶ The ferthe ver*tu* ys **Ryȝtwysnesse.**
þ*at* is to ȝelde to alle me*n* þ*at*. þ*at* we owe hem.
and for to do. to eche ma*n*: þ*at* vs owe.
Fyrst: for to ȝeld to god seruyse þ*at* we be-heet hym whan we tok cr*is*tyndo*m*
and to kepe his comau*n*dem*en*tys be-fore alle op*er* thyngys.
And study we al oure herte: to do aftyr his cou*n*seyl.
and so to plese hym. *and* fulfylle his wyl.
in al þ*at* eu*er* we mowe. for to haue þank of hym.
and to gete of hym oure mede. for þ*at* ys sou*er*ayne ryȝtwisnesse.
And aftyrward to worfchype ham þ*at* be worthy.

P. 159 prudentiâ, temperantia, justitia, fortitudo; per quas homo ad seipsum et proximum ordinatur.

T. (*Nothing in original to correspond with L.*)

L. þat is þo þat loue god. *and* leue good lyf: aftyr goddys lawe.

not for riches, Not worschipe men for here worldly rychesse. as þe fals world doþ:

for þey be mysdoers. sotel. *and* sly*ht*ful dys-seyuers.

nor for habits of an order, Ne worschipe not men for here fayre clo*þes*. ne for here qweynte schappis

þat sum men vsen. *and* sey þe clo*þ*is make hem holy.

which dying men assume to escape hell. ¶ And for*þ*ermore þey make sum men beleue þat who so eu*er* deys

in here abyte of hire ordre: þat he schal neu*er* go to helle.

A dangerous heresy And sum men þynke þat þis is a ful p*ar*lows heresy.

For to make men to trowe in fals thyngys.

þat may not helpe hem to here saluacioun.

For þan my3t a man synne how-eu*er* hym lyst.

and leue so in dedly synne tyl hys endyng day.

and neu*er* forthynk his synne. ne make satis-facc*i*on

of goodys þat he haþ stole of o*þ*er mennys.

but kast on suche a cope and dye *þer*-yn.

and þan his synnys schul be for3eue hym: as fro þe peyne of helle

to teach thus. But þ*is* lernyng is a3en ry3twisnesse. se*þ*yn ry3t-wys god techys þe contrary.

For god *and* alle his seyntys. *and* sure beleue techis vs:

The penalty of wilful breach of God's commandments, þat who-so-eu*er* brekys godys comandeme*n*tys wilfully.

and leuyþ in pride. *and* in lecchery. *and* stelys his ney3ebo*urs* goodys:

L. And haþ no repe*n*tau*n*ce for þese synnys in his laste ende: — if unrepented of,

ne makys no satisfacc*i*on yf he may

of þe stole goodys ne*þer* in dede. ne in wyl. ne in thoȝt: . . .

þat he mot ve*r*ilyche go to helle./ euery (*ever*) w*ith*-oute ende. — is hell without end,

þow he deyde in alle þe abytys and alle þe vestimentys in cristyndom

ȝe: þow he hadde vp-on hy*m* in his deþ: þe cloþ þat cr*i*st weryd — even though the man died in Christ's own vesture.

*here in erthe in his manhed þat be resu*n* was neue*r* worldly cloþ so holy — [fol. 15 *b*]

¶ And furþ*er* more ho-so-eue*r* had synnyd in alle þese wyse. — But if he had repented of his sin

and lefte his synne w*ith* ful repentau*n*ce

and p*er*fyt wylle neue*r*more to synne eft-sonys dedly

w*ith* satisfacc*i*on to his euyn-cristyn: as is trew god /

he most saue hym þorwȝ his ryȝtwysnesse. *and* his m*er*cy. — Christ will save him.

For on þis wyse stondys ful remyssion of synne.

and þ*er*fore ho-so-eue*r* behotys eny man to come to heuyn — The promise of pardon on any other terms

thorwȝ forȝeuenesse of synne but on þis wyse

he is vnryȝtwys *and* fals in his seyynge. — is false,

For yf he sey he schal not come in helle

and he deye in here abyte of here ordre: — for, habit or no habit, none can forestall God's judgment.

þan most he wel wyte: þat he schuld to heuyn at þe day of dom.

and holy wryt seyþ. þat noma*n* wot

whydyr he may be worþy to haue hate or loue of god.

Justice helps the needy, and wrongs no man, but does to all what reason asks.

T. For to helpe the pouer that er nedy,

For to do gile ne *wr*ang unto naman,
bot for to do that skill is unto ilkman.

Prudence or Wisdom is wary with danger, and discerns good from evil.

¶ **The fift v*er*tu** or thew sleghe or sleghness
—prudencia—
That wisses us to be war with wathes of the world,
for it kennes us to knaw the gode fra the yvel,
And als-so to sundir the tane fra the tothir,
And for to leue that is yvel, and take to the gode;
And of twa gode thinges to chese the better.

Fortitude or strength of mind and purpose,

¶ **The sext v*er*tu** is strength or stalworthnesse,
Noght anely of bodi, but of hert and of will,

C. persolvendis; et sic est contra malitiam sæculi plurimum opportuna.
¶ **Prudentia est** in utilibus eligendis et malis præcavendis et sic est utilis contra diaboli tentamenta.

145 ¶ **Fortitudo** constat in prosperis et adversis æquanimiter

L. And holy wryt may nat be fals: þan ys he fals
þat *þus* techys:
þat who-eu*er* deyes in here abyte schal neu*er* go
to helle.
But trew me*n* *and* meke men þynke
yt were more tokyn of holynesse
to dey *with*oute*n* ony clo þynge: or ellys in a pore
clo þynge
to schew o*þer* ensample: whiche þey schal be.
and to schew he*m* meknesse *and* porenesse to
stoppe pride.
and þat we com bare in-to þ*is* world *and* bare
schul we passe
But yf we be clo þyd in oure sowle w*ith* vertues
and holy lyuy*n*ge
And þ*er*fore ry3twisnesse wyl not þ*at* we worschipe
me*n*. for here clo þynge.
but only for here fayre v*er*tues. *and* here clene lyf.
for to helpe þ*at* pore þ*at* be nedy. *and* to amend
synful men
as þe gospel seys. to do wro*n*g to no man.
but to do þ*at* skyl is to eche man.
¶ The v. vertu ys **warnesse**. *and* sle y3te.

in god to know þe goode fro þe yuyl.
and to depart hem in two.
and for to hate þe euyl: *and* loue þe goode.
and of two goode þyngys to chese þe bettyr.
¶ The sexte v*er*tu ys **Strengthe**
not only of þe body. but also of þe herte. *and* of
þe wyl.

P. Est autem actus *prudentiæ* bonum eligere; actus *justitiæ* recta facere; actus *temperantiæ* non impediri deliciis; actus *fortitudinis* non dimittere bonum agendum pro angustiis vel molestiis quibuscunque.
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in weal and woe, neither elated nor depressed, but stedfast to God-ward.

T. Euenly to sofir the wele *and* the wa,
Welthe or wandreth, whethir so betides,
And that our hert be noght to hegh for no welefare,
Ne ouer mikel undir for nane yvel fare,
But saffely for to stand ogaynes our faes,
Whethir thai be bodili or thai be gastely,
So that þa foule fandyng make us to fall,
Or be fals *in* our faithe ogayne god almighten.

Temperance or Moderation preserves us from excess, that we may live rationally.

The seuent vertu and the laste is methe or methefulnsse,—TEMPERANCIA—
That hedis us fra outrage, *and* haldes us in euen
Lettes fole lykynges and lustes of the flesch,
And yhemes us fro yernynges of worldely godes,
And kepes us in clennesse of bodi and of saule:
For methe is mesur and met of al that we do,
If we lyff skillwisely als the lawe techis.

The seven deadly sins, that we must know, so as to flee them.

¶ THE SEXT THING AND THE LAST OF THAS I first touchid
Is the seuen heued synnes or dedely synnes,
That ilkman augh for to knawe to fle and forhoue,
For man mai noght fle tham bot he knawe tham,
Pride, enuy, wrath, and glotony, covatis *and* slauth, and licheri.

C. tolerandis: et hæc est necessaria ad pugnandum contra mundum, carnem, et diabolum in hac vita.

¶ **Temperantia** est in motibus illicitis coercendis: et hæc est necessaria ad carnalia desideria ratione domanda.

150 ¶ Istis quatuor hic in vita bene vivitur; et post ad æternam patriam pervenitur.

[*See Note, page* 60.]

211 ¶ **Item septem sunt peccata mortalia** scilicet superbia, invidia, ira, acedia, avaritia, gula et luxuria.

L. Stalworthly. and tholedmodly. to suffre wo *and* wele.
seknesse *and* hele. tribulacioun *and* temptacioun.
mekly to suffre: whe*per* so falle wo or wele.

and *þat* oure herte be not to hy3. for no welfare.
ne to heuy: for no euyl fare.
But styfly to stond a3en our foys bodyly *and* gostly.
so *þat* no foly fondyng make vs to falle
ne to be fals in oure fey*þ* a3enst alm3ty god. [fol. 16]
But hertely in gode*s* querel to with*s*tonde
yn our Euyn-cristyn in al *þat* we may./
The seuen*t* ver*t*u. *and* *þe* laste ys **Mesure.**

þat kepys vs fro vtrage and holhis vs in Euynhede.
and lettys fowl lykyng. *and* lustys of *þis* flesch.

and kepe*þ* vs in clennesse of *þe* body *and* sowle
For mesure ys mede to vs in al *þat* we do.
3if we lyue skylfully as goddys lawe vs teches.

Septem *pe*c*cat*a **mortalia.**

The sexte *þyng*. *and* *þe* laste to know god almy3ty ys.
þe seuen of hed synnys. or dedly.
þat eue*r*y man ow to know to fle *and* forsake.
For noman may fle hem: but he know hem
These *þey* arn./ **Pryde. Envye./ Wrathe./ Glotonye.**
Couetyse. **Slew***þe*./ and **Leccherye.**

P. Et dicuntur hæ quatuor *Virtutes Cardinales*, hoc est *Principales*, quia de istis quatuor plures aliæ sunt extractæ: de quibus, quia pro
168 solis simplicibus laboramus, ad præsens amplius non tractamus.

Septem vero *Peccata mortalia* sunt, superbia, invidia, &c.

T. And forthi er thai cald seuen heued synnes,
For that al othir comes of tham,
And forthi er thai cald dedli synnes,
For thai gastely sla ilk mannes saule,
That er hanked in al or in any of tham.

Wharefore the wise man biddes in his boke,
—Ecclesiast. xxi°.—
Als fra the face of the neddir, fand to fle syn,
For als the venyme of the nedder slaes mannes bodi,
Swa the venyme of syn slaes mannes saule.

Pride is a lifting up of man's heart for office or position, or other distinction, that he has by birth or favour, or prides himself on having.

¶ **The first of this seven synnes is pride,**
That is, a likand heghnesse of a mannes hert
Of office, or hegh state, or othir nobillay,
That he outhir has of kynd or of grace,
Or that he hopes that he has mare than a nothir.
And of this syn comes mani sere spices,
Bost, and auantyng, and unbuxumnesse,
Despite, and ypocrisie, and unshamefulnesse,
And othir that er oft sithe sene omang proude men.

Envy grieves at the well-doing, and rejoices at the misfortune, of others;

¶ **The secund dedeli syn** is hatten enuy,
That is a sorowe and a site of the welefare,
And ioy of the yuel fare of our eu*en-cri*sten;
Of whilk syn many spices springes *and* spredes.

hates praising them;

Ane is hatered to speke or here ought be spoken
That may soune un-to gode to tham that we hate:

misjudges their actions;

Anothir is false iuggeyng or dome of thair dedis,

C. ¶ **Superbia**, radix omnium vitiorum, est amor propriæ excellentiæ, ex quo oriuntur jactantia, hypocrisis, schisma, et consimilia.
¶ **Invidia** est dolor felicitatis, et gaudium adversitatis alienæ, de qua oriuntur detractio, murmuratio, perversa judicia, et similia.

L. **H**erfore þey be clepyd: þe seue*n* hed synnys.
For al o*þer* synnys. comyþ of hem.
and þey be callyd dedly synnys.
For þey sle gostly eu*e*ry ma*n*nys sowle. þ*a*t is bou*n*d in ham.
For þ*a*t synnys in **O**n: synnys in alle.
wherfore þ*i*s man Ecclesiastes. byddys in his boke.

As fro þe **N**eddyrys face fonde to fle synne./
For as þe venym of þe neddyr: sleyȝ ma*n*nys body:
So þe venym of þe synne: sleys ma*n*nys sowle.
The fyrste of þese synnes ys **P**ryde.
þ*a*t ys alykyng (*sic*) of ma*n*nys herte *and* heynesse
of offycys. or of hey stat. or nobleye
þ*a*t he has of kyn. kende. or of grace.
or þ*a*t he wenys. he haue mo*r*e þan ano*þer*.
And of þ*i*s synne: come*th* many sere spicys.
Bosty*n*ge. **A**uau*n*t-maky*n*g. vnbuxu*m*nesse.
despit. and ypo*c*ri*s*y. proud schame. *and* fool drede.
and o*þer* many þ*a*t regne amo*n*g prowd men.
The secu*n*de synne ys. bre*n*ny*n*ge **Envye**
þ*a*t is a sorwe *and* forþynky*n*ge of o*þer*ys welfare.
and ioy. *and* a lykyng of here evyl fare.
whe*þer* þey be frendys or foys.
And her-of comys many spycis.
On ys hatred to speke or here owȝt be spokyn.
þ*a*t may sowne in-to good to he*m* þ*a*t þey hatyn./
Ano*þer* is fals Iugginge. or demy*n*ge of here dedys
þ*a*t þey hate.

P. Et est SUPERBIA amor excellentiæ propriæ: de qua oriuntur jactantia, ostentatio, hypocrisis, schismata, et similia.
170 INVIDIA vero est odium felicitatis alienæ: de qua oriuntur detractio, verberatio, murmuratio, dissensio, perversa judicia, et similia.

T. And ay *turne* until yuel that thai do to gode;
and backbites, The third is bacbityng, to sai behynd tham
That we wil noght auow ne say befor tham,
Whare noght anely he that spekes the yuel,
wherein the listener is also to blame. Bot he that heres it be spoken, is for to blame,
For war thar no herer, thar wer no bacbiter.

Anger is a stirring or swelling of heart, ¶ **The third dedely syn** or heued syn is wrath,
That is, a wiked stirryng or bolnyng of hert
that makes one desire to take vengeance. Whare-thurgh a man wilnesse for to take wrake
Or wickedly to venge him opon his euen-cristen,
And of this syn comes striuyng, and flityng,
With mony fals and mony foule wordes;
Sklaundir, for to fordo a mannes gode fame,
Feghtyng, *and* felony *and* oft mannes slaughter,
And many ma than now is nede to be neuened.

Gluttony. Eating or Drinking out of reason, as to ¶ **The ferthe dedeli syn** is glotony,
That is ane unskilwise likyng, or loue,
In taste, or in takyng of mete *and* of drynk;
And this *tre*spas dos men opon sere wise.
[fol. 297 *b*] time, Ane is ouer areli or ou*er* late, *or ouer oftt sithes
For to ete or to drynk, bot if nede ger it;
nicety, Anothir is for to lyue ouer delicately;
quantity, The third is for to ete or drink ouer mikel;
haste, The ferthe is ou*er* hastily to ete or to drynk;
or contrivance. The fift is to compas upon what wise
We may gete deliciouse metes *and* drynkes,

C. 216 ¶ **Ira** est vindictæ injustus et temerarius appetitus de quo oriuntur contentiones, dissentiones, bella, homicidia, et similia.

[*Here* Accedia (C. 218-220, *post, page* 92) *and* Avaritia (C. 221-3, *post, page* 92) *follow in the Latin of the Convocation.*]

¶ **Gula** est immoderatus edendi et bibendi appetitus et habet quinque modos.

¶ **Primus** est in non debito tempore comedendo.
¶ **Secundus** nimis laute cibaria præparando.
¶ **Tertius** cum sumitur nimis in quantitate.
¶ **Quartus** cum sumitur nimia aviditate.
¶ **Et quintus** est ciborum delectabilium excogitatio studiosa.

L. *and* alwey to euyl: *þat* þey do to goode
¶ The þrydde ys bakbytynge. to sey behynd'a man:
þat he wyl not sey. ne avowe be fore hym.
For nat only he *þat* spekys þe euyl:
but he *þat* herys yt spokyn. sy*nn*yþ *þer*-yn.
For were *þer* noo*n* hererys: *þer* were noo*n* bakbyters
*The thryd dedly synne ys. Wrath. [fol. 166]
þat is a wykkyd sterynge of boldnesse of herte.
whe-þorw3 a man coueytys to make wrec*h*e
or wykkydly venge hy*m* on his euyn-cristyn.
And of þis comys. stryuy*n*ge. and chydynge.
w*i*th men. fals othys. *and* many fowl wordys.
slau*n*drys. for to for-do a ma*n*nys good fame
fy3tyng *and* felony *and* ofte manslaw3*ter*.
and many mo þan her be rekenyd
¶ The ferthe dedly syn ys Glotony
þat is an vnskylful lyky*n*g or loue
in tast. or tastynge of mete or drynke.
and her-yn me*n* trespace on many wyse.
On is to ete or drynke ou*er* erly or ou*er* late.
Ano*þer* for to ete ofte or drynk but nede mak yt
Ano*þer* for to lyue ou*er* delycatly.
to ete or drynke ou*er* mokyl or ou*er* hastly.

or to kast on what wyse we may gete delycio*us* mete. or drynke.

P. Ira est appetitus vindictæ et nocumenti inferendi alicui, quæ cum perseverat in corde fit odium: de quo oriuntur persecutiones verborum & factorum, plagæ, homicidia, et similia.

Gula est immoderatus amor delectationis secundum gustum in cibo & in potu. In qua quintupliciter peccatur.

Primo in tempore, quando comeditur nimis mane et nimis tarde aut nimis assidue: aut in qualitate, quando quæruntur cibaria opipara, seu nimis delicata: vel in quantitate, scilicet, quando nimis comeditur aut bibitur, quod est vilissimum genus gulæ; et est nimium in cibo et potu, quod cor aggravat, et impedit sensum interiorem, aut exteriorem, seu quod lædit corporis sanitatem. *Item* in aviditate seu voracitate: et *ultimo* in curiosa et exquisita

T. For to fill the likyngs and lustes of the flesh,
Othir than we may godely lede our lyve with.
505 UNDE VERSUS, *Prepropere, laute, nimis, ardenter, studiose.*

Covetousness ¶ **THE fift dedely syn** is covatise, that is a urang-wise wilnyng
Or yernyng to hafe any kyns gode that us augh noght,
And this is *principaly* done opon twyn wise:
gets, by right or wrong, Ane is wrangwisely to gete any thing
510 That oure likyng or oure loue lightes opon,
Als be sacrilege, or be symonie,
Stalthe, falshede, or oker, or othir gilery,
Whilk this worldis men is wont for to use,
That castes thaire conandnesse so unto couatise
515 That thai ne reck whethir it be bi right, or bi wrang,

Bot at thai mai gete that at thaire hert yhernes.
and keeps unduly for itself. Anothir is wrangwisely to hald that is geten;
That is when we will noght do to god almighten,
Ne til halikirk, ne til our euen-*cr*isten,
520 That us augh for to do bi dett *and* by lawe,
Bot anely haldes that we have, for ese of us selven;

Whare noght anely he that wrangwisely getes,
Bot he that wrangwisely haldes, falles in the syn.

Sloth. ¶ **THE SEXT dedely syn is** slauthe or slawnes,

C. Quæ continentur in hoc versu:

232 ¶ Præpopere, laute, nimis, ardenter, studiose.
221 ¶ **Avaritia** est immoderatus amor bonorum temporalium, tam illicite adquirendo, quam indebite detinendo; ex qua oriuntur
223 fraus, furtum, sacrilegium, simonia, usura et omne turpe lucrum.

218 ¶ **Acedia** est tædium boni spiritualis, quo quis nec in Deo,

L. for to fulfylle þe lykyng *and* þe lust of þe flesche/
oþer þan we may goodly lede oure lyf *with*.

¶ The fyfte dedly synne ys **C**ouetyse. *þat* is a
wro*n*gwys ȝerny*n*ge.
to haue ony man*er* good *þat* vs owyþ not.

and *þis* is pryncipaly don: on two wyses.
On is wrongfully to gete ony þyng
þat oure lykynge or oure lust: lustys vp-on.
as be Sacrilege or **S**ymony.
Stelyng. **F**alshed. or **O**kyr. or oþer **g**ylery.
þe whyche. þese wordly men be wonþ to vse.
þat kastyn here lykynge so to couetyse:
þat þey rekke not whe*þer* it be *with* ryȝt or *with*
wro*n*g.
So *þat* þey may gete: *þat* here herte desirys
Anoþer is. wrongfully to holde.
þat is whan we wil not do to god almyȝty.
ne to holy chirche. ne to oure euyn-*cri*styn:
þat vs owe to do be dette. and be lawe.
But only holde *þat* we haue to oure owne ese.
Not only we synne in **C**ouetyse but also in slewþe.
and not only he *þat* wrongfully getys
but also he *þat* wrongfully holdys / fallys in *þat*
synne
¶ The .vi. ys. accidy./ *þat* is slownesse.
whan a man schuld do a good dede

P. alimentorum præparatione pro gulæ deliciis excitandis, quæ quinque continentur in hoc versu :

Præpropere, laute, nimis, ardenter, studiose.

AVARITIA est immoderatus amor habendi, mobilia vel immobilia affluentiæ illicite acquirendo, vel illicite retinendo: ex qua oriuntur fraus, furtum, sacrilegium, et omne turpe lucrum, et similia.

ACEDIA est tædium boni spiritualis, ex quo homo nec in Deo,

Repugnance to spiritual work.

T. That is ane hertly anger or anoye til us
Of any gastely gode that we sal do,
And of this syn comes sum sere speces;

Delay.

Ane is latsummesse or lite to draw opon leuthe
Any gode dede that we sal do,
That mai turne us til help or hele of our saules.

Dulness.

Anothir is a dulnesse or heuynesse of hert
That lettes us for to luf our lord god almighten,
Or any likyng to haue in his seruice.

Idleness.

The thirld is yde[l]ship that ouer mikel is haunted,

That makes men lathe to begyn any godededis,
And lightely dos us to leue when ought is begunnen,

And thar ar we er kyndely borne for to swink
Als the foughel is kindly born for to flegh,
Job. v^to^. ca°.
It haldes us euermare in ese ogaynes our kynd,
For idelnesse is enmy to cristen man saule
Stepmodir *and* stameryng ogayne gode thewes,
And witter wissyng *and* wai till alkyns vices.

Lechery.

¶ **The seuent dedely syn is** lecheri,
That is a foule likyng or lust of the flesch;
And of this syn comes many sere spices.

Fornication.

Ane is fornication, a fleshly syn
Betwix ane aynlepi man, and ane aynlepi woman,
That forthi that it is ogaynes the lawe
And the leue, *and* the lare that hali kirk haldes,
It is dedely syn to tham tlfat dos it.

Adultery.

¶ An other is auoutry, that is spousebrek,
Whether it be bodily or it be gastely,

C. vel ejus laudibus, aut bonorum operum exercitione delectatur; et
220 ex hoc sequitur tristitia, negligentia, otium et similia.
233 ¶ **Peccatum vero luxuriæ** est his temporibus nimis notum,

L. hastly *and with* good wil. for þe loue of god.
drawith yt on lengthe *and* heuy is þer-with
and ys hertles in eny gostly good þat he schuld do.
and of þis syn. comys many sere spycis.
On is latsumnesse or delyt to draw on lenthe
ony maner good dede þat we schuld do
þat may turne vs to helpe of oure sowlys
¶ Anoþer is ydilnesse *or heuynesse of herte [fol. 17]
þat lettyþ vs for to loue our lord god almyȝty:
or eny lykyng to haue in his seruyse.
Anoþer ys coldnesse of herte *and* ydylschip þat
ouer mekyl is vsyd
þat maketh vs loþ to be-gyn ony good dede.
and lyȝtly maketh vs to leue of whan eny is be-
gunne.
and þerfore we be kendly born to swynke:
as þe foul is born to fle kendly.

hyt holdys vs euermore in ese passynge kende.
For ydylnesse is enmy to mannys sowle.
stoppynge *and* staunchyng grace *and* good thewys.
and hit is witte wyssynge *and* wey to al maner
synnes. *and* vices.
¶ The vij. dedly synne *and* þe laste ys **lecchérye**
þat is stynkynge lykyng or lust of þe flesche.
and of þis syn comyþ many sere spicys.
On is fornicacioun of fleschly synne
be-twene a sengyl man *and* a sengyl womman
and for þat is gayn þe law.
and leue *and* þe lore / þat holy chirche holdis:
yt is dedly synne to hem þat doþ yt.
Anoþer is avowtri. þat ys spowse-brekynge
whether it be bodyly or gostly.

P. nec in Divinis laudibus delectatur: ex qua sequuntur ignorantia, pusillanimitas, desperatio, et similia.

195 LUXURIAM vero non oportet notificare, cujus infamia

T. That greuouser *and* gretter is than that othir.
Incest, The third is incest, that is when a man synnes
Fleshly with any of his sib frend,
Or any othir that is of his affinite,
Gastely or bodili, whethir so it be.
and many other kinds, Othir spices many ma springes of this syn,
That ouer mikel er knawen and kenud in the werld,
With tham that ledis thair lifs als thaire flesch ylhernes.

These are the six things taught by the Church, ¶ **This er the sex thinges** that I have spoken of,
That the lawe of halikirk lies mast in
that all are bound to know. That ye er al halden to knawe, *and* to kun,
If ye sal knawe god almighten, and cum un-to his blisse:

C. ut incestus, adulterium, fornicatio et ideo non oportet exponere ejus fœditatem.

¶ Quamobrem vobis injungimus et mandamus, quatenus præmissa omnia et singula, tam clero, quam populo vestræ jurisdictionis intimetis seu publicetis publicarive seu intimari faciatis, rectoribus, vicariis, presbyteris et aliis curatis quibuscunque jurisdictionis prædictæ, in virtute obedientiæ, ex parte nostra firmiter injungentes, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet, habitis præmissorum veris copiis infra mensem, præmissa parochianis suis publice prædicant, eosque super articulis memoratis instruant, exquisite singulis quadragesimis a dictis parochianis suis in confessionibus audiendis an hæc sic addiscerint et parvulos suos instruxerint inquirendo, pœnitentiam non parentibus imponendo, et eam postmodum ut præmittitur aggravando; laicos vero jurisdictionis prædictæ per vos moneri volumus et induci quod ipsi, et eorum quilibet, præmissa per curatos suos sibi exposita devotione filiali benigne audiant et addiscant, parvulosque suos, ut præmittitur, erudiant, seu per alios faciant erudiri, sicut indignationem divinam et inobedientiæ reatum voluerint evitare. Et ut mentes fidelium ad id propensius excitemus, Nos de omnipotentis Dei misericordia,

L. wel greuouser yt is *and* gretter þan þe oþer./
The þridde is Incest.·þat is whan a man synnyþ
fleschly with ony of hys kyn. or ony oþer þat is
of his affynyte
gostly or bodyly whedyr so yt be.
Oþer spycis many may spryng of þat synne.
þat ouer mekyl ys customyd. *and* know in þis
world
with hem þat lede here lyf as here flesch wyl.

And al þe grettyst synne is in prestis þat leccherye vsyn. The worst kind is when priests practise this sin,
for it passyþ þat oþer in despit þat is do to god.
And euer gretter *and* gretter as þei be of degre. and all the more in proportion to their rank and the condition of the other party.
and þe stat of þe oþer party þat þey syn with.
These be þe sexe thyngys þat y haue spokyn of
þat þe law of holy chirche lys most yn.
þat þey be holde to know *and* to kunne ·
yf þey schal knowe god almyȝty *and* come to þe
blysse of heuyn.

P. 196 aërem inficit universum.

As an encouragement to learn them,

T. And for to gif yhou better will for to kun tham,

the Archbishop grants forty days' indulgence;

Our fadir the ercebisshop grauntes of his *grace*
Fourti daies of *pardon* til al that kunnes tham,
Or dos thair gode diligence for to kun tham,
And ratifies als-so that othir men gifes,
So mikel couaites he the hele of yhour saules,

for by knowing these things men learn to know God,

For if ye kunnandly knaw this ilk sex thinges
Thurgh thaim sal ye kun knawe god almighten,

whom to know is life eternal.

Wham, als saint Iohn saies in his godspel,
Conandly for to knawe swilk als he is,
It is endeles life *and* lastand blisse,

To whilk blisse he bring us[, *that bought us*]. amen.

C. gloriosæ Virginis Mariæ matris ejus, beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, gloriosissimi Confessoris Willelmi meritis et precibus confidentes, omnibus subditis nostris infra nostras civitatem, diœcesim, et provinciam constitutis, et aliis, quorum diœcesani hanc nostram indulgentiam ratam habuerint, de peccatis suis vere confessis pœnitentibus et contritis, qui præmissa in prædicando, docendo, audiendo et erudiendo devote servaverint et adimpleverint, quadraginta dies indulgentiæ misericorditer duximus concedendos.

Data apud Cawode xxv^to^. die mensis Novembris anno Domini millesimo ccc^mo^. lvij^o^.

Nostræ tamen intentionis non existit aliquibus personis ad prædicandum indultis per præsentes in aliquo præjudicare.

L. And for [*to*] ȝeue ȝow þe bett*er* wyl for to cu*n*ne
ham.
Our Fadyr þe archiepischop grau*n*tys of hys grace.
forty dayes of Pardou*n*. to alle þat cu*n*ne hem
and rehercys hem. *and* tellys he*m* to o*þer*.
and *con*firmys al þe p*ar*dou*n* þat o*þer* men ȝeuys to.
So moche coueytyþ he: þe hele of oure sowlys.
For yf ȝe cu*nny*ngly knowe þese sexe thyngys;
þorwȝ hem ȝe schuld knowe god almyȝty.
And as seynt Ion seyþ in hys gospel
Ku*nny*ngly to know god almyȝty:
ys endles lyf. *and* lastynge blysse.
He bryngge vs þer*to*. þat bowȝt vs
W*ith* hys herte blod on þe cros Crist Ie*s*u. Amen.//

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Page 1, T. 1—3. The scribe who entered this document in the Archbishop's official register here left a space for a three-line capital A. These initial letters were added to the manuscript by the turners or flourishers; as they continued to be in the case of printed books as late as the last years of the fifteenth century.[1]

p. 1, T. 1. *gret clerk*—Peter Lombard, so called from having been born at Lumello, a village near Novara in Lombardy. He rose to the head of the divinity school of Paris, and eventually became bishop of the see in 1159, dying in the following year. He was known as the "Master of the Sentences"; and his work here quoted, the *Libri quatuor Sententiarum*, was accepted by the school-men of all opinions as their text-book of theology until the appearance of the *Summa* of Aquinas, some two hundred years later.

p. 1, T. 3—10. The place from the *Sentences* is as follows:—"Credamus ergo rerum creatarum cœlestium, terrestrium, visibilium vel invisibilium causam non esse nisi bonitatem creatoris, qui est Deus unus et verus. Cujus tanta est bonitas, ut summi boni beatitudinis suæ, qua æternaliter beatus est, alios velit esse participes, quam videt et communicari posse, et minui omnino non posse."—*Senten.* II. i. 3.

p. 1, T. 10—14. "Et quia non valet ejus beatitudinis particeps existere aliquis nisi per intelligentiam, quæ quanto magis intelligitur, tanto plenius habetur, fecit Deus rationabilem creaturam quæ summum bonum intelligeret, et intelligendo amaret, et amando possideret, ac possidendo frueretur. Eamque hoc modo distinxit, ut pars in sua puritate permaneret, nec corpori uniretur, scilicet, angeli; pars corpori jungeretur, scilicet, animæ. Distincta est utique rationalis creatura in incorpoream et corpoream; et incorporea quidem angelus, corporea vero homo vocatur, ex anima rationali et carne subsistens."—*Senten.* II. i. 4.

We may compare with these opening lines the similar beginning of Calvin's Catechism (in French 1536, Lat. 1538). Canon Simmons remarks that Calvin appears to have been quite unconscious that he is quoting the Master of the Sentences. In this he is not followed by the larger and smaller Catechisms of the Westminster Divines.

p. 4, C[illegible] *Ex nostra.* Cf. the instructions given by Adrian VI. to his legate to the Diet of Nuremberg: Mosheim, II. 401 *n.*

[1] The Company of Scriveners of the city of York included Text-writers; Limners (who painted the miniatures and did the gilding); Notours, who inserted the musical notes; and Turners and Flourishers, who did the initial and capital letters, and the illuminated borders. Canon Simmons has an interesting note in his *Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, p. 401, in which he gives a covenant for a service-book from the acts of the Chapter of York, showing that the size of these initial letters was a matter of definite stipulation. The entry of this covenant is dated the 26th August, 1346.

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p. 5, **L.** 46. The insertion of "other" in L. is not without significance. It brings out the fact that the beneficed clergy were also priest, and were therefore bound to discharge the priest's duty of teaching.

[Canon Simmons seems to have regarded "priests" as meaning only "parish priests" (curates as we should now call them) put in charge by the appropriators of the tithe. I think the Wyclifite insertion is intended rather to insist on the universal obligation to teach, which lies on all priests, even unbeneficed, as a result of their ordination; and condemns especially the Mass-priests, who were contented to earn a living by "a chaunterie for soules" or the like.]

p. 5, **L.** 47–8. This farther dwelling upon teaching is characteristic of Wyclif, who sets preaching above all other duties of a priest. "As prestis have a state hyest of alle oþer, so God askes of hom more parfit service; and ydelnesse in prestis is most dampnable. Þo moste hye servise þat men have in erthe is to preche Gods worde, þat falles unto priestis."[1] "Ffor (holy Chirche) is most worshipped by prechyng of Gods worde, and so þis is þo most servise þat prestis schulden do to God."[2]

Compare also *Festyv.* clviii.:—"The whiche we that have the cure of soules be bounde for to teche our parysshens upon payne of eternall dampnatyon oure soules."

[The Wyclifite tendency remarked in the last note is more strongly shown in the omission of the words "that god almighten save." This omission is no doubt due to Wyclif's strong objection to all special prayers. One of the propositions condemned at the earthquake council of 1382 is (XIX): "Quod speciales oraciones applicatae unae personae per praelatos vel religiosos non plus prosunt eidem personae quam generales orationes cœteris paribus eidem."—*F. Z.*, 281.

This view was maintained by the later Lollards, as may be seen in Pecock's *Repressor*, Part V. chap. xv.]

p. 6, **T.** 49. *opon sononndaies.* The rule as given in the *Pupilla Oculi*[3] is, that every priest having cure of souls should once each quarter, on one or more holidays, either by himself or some other, set forth the points of doctrine, as specified in Peckham's *Constitution* (p. 18—22).

p. 6, **C.** 14. Cf. Aquinas: "rationes subtiles ..... rudi exemplo."—Göbl. 285.

p. 7, **L.** 57. Here "preche" is put first, while it comes second in **T.**

p. 7—11, **L.** 59—161. This treatise on the Pater Noster is contained in three other manuscripts, viz. Bodl. 789 (which also contains Archbishop Thoresby's "Sixe thingis,"—**T.** 52, &c.), Trin. Coll. Dub. c. v. 6, and Harl. 2385. Mr. Arnold gives the authority of Bale for ascribing it to Wyclif; and it is followed in all four MSS. by the tract, *Super Salutatione Angelica*, or on the Ave Maria, which bears in the Harleian Text the name of W. (III. 93).—H. E. N.

p. 7—18, **L.** 59—73. The substance of this passage is contained in a treatise given by Mr. Arnold (*Sel. Eng. Works Wyc.*, III, pp. 99–100), to which he has prefixed the following note:—"The only ground for ascribing this treatise to Wyclif, besides internal evidence, is the fact of its being found in a volume of W.'s sermons at Wrest Park. The style much resembles, I think, that of W. He goes on to express his opinion, that if by W., this treatise is, compared with most of his English works, of early date, composed after he had sent out the 'poor priests,' but before persecution had commenced."

[1] *S. E. W.*, III. 143. [2] *Ib.* 144. See also *W. E. W.*, 188-1. [3] P. X, c. 1.

Canon Simmons has a marginal note here to the effect that the passage in the treatise given by Mr. Arnold is rather founded on our text than copied from it: and that its tone is more denunciatory, showing its date to be later.—H. E. N.

p. 7, L. 61. *passys oþer prayers.* Compare the *Speculum Ecclesiæ* of St. Edmund of Canterbury, 1247.

"Ista oratio superat et excellit omnem aliam orationem, in dignitate et utilitate. In dignitate, quia ipsemet Deus ipsam composuit et fecit; et ideo facit magnum dedecus et magnam irreverentiam Iesu Christo Dei filio, qui sibi accipit verba rithmitica et curiosa, dimittitque et relinquit orationem quam ipsemet composuit qui scit totam voluntatem Dei Patris et qualis oratio maxime sibi placet, et pro quibus nos miseri maxime indigemus deprecari. Nam sicut prius dixi, ille solus totam scit Dei Patris voluntatem, totam nostram necessitatem. Igitur centum millia hominum decipiun tur per multiplicationem orationum. Cum enim putant se habere devotionem, habent unam vilem et carnalionem affectionem, quia omnis carnalis animus naturaliter delectatur in tali loquela curiosa."[1]

[The whole of this passage (59—161) on the Pater Noster is undoubtedly Wyclif's, and is printed in *S. E. W.*, I. 93. That text, taken from a MS. in the Bodleian, differs very slightly from ours, but it has in addition a peroration in praise of the Lord's prayer.]

p. 8, L. 78. Theologians allow as an axiom, that the external operations of the Holy Trinity are common to the Three Persons, but the use of "Trinity," where "God" would have been more usual, is characteristic of Wyclif. We may notice other instances in our manuscript:

"Our sowle was mad to lyknesse of þe trinte," L. 86.

So, too, in l. 104, where he is speaking of the petitions of the Lord's Prayer addressed to our Father:

"And þese thre askyngys arn to þe holy Trinite."

Other examples may be quoted from Wyclif's Latin works:

"Non credo quod Christus tam perfecte servivit Trinitati pro tempore sue viacionis sicut post resurreccionem." *De Statu Innocentiae*, cap. II.

"Est unus verus et summus dominus in celis residens, qui est trinitas increata." De Contrarietate duorum Dominorum, *Polemical Works* (Buddensieg), p. 698.

I add an example of the use of "Trinity" in the next century, from the will of Roger Flore or Flower, 1424, "And I pray to þe blessed Trinite that of his endless mercye and goodnesse he sende my children grace to be gode men and wommen, and to ȝelde him gode soules þorough þe helpe and praier of our lady seint Marye and of all þe seyntes of heune." Furnivall, *Earliest English Wills*, 59.

[Canon Simmons did not notice that Roger Flore heads his will "Ego, Rogerus Flore, *miser et indignus*," which is a common form with Lollards. Cf. the will of Thomas Broke in the same Collection, p. 27: "In the name of the Lord of all Lordes, the almiȝty ymmortal Trinite, I, wrechyd Synner, Thomas Broke," &c.]

p. 8, L. 87. *was prentyd þeryn.* This might seem at first sight to have a modern look, and to be later than the date I have assumed for these interpolations; but I find the same metaphor elsewhere—at least in French—a century earlier:

"A fin que il peut (*pût*) la creinte et celle meisme terreur imprimer

[1] S. Edmundi Cantuarensis Archiepiscopi *Speculum Ecclesiæ*. Ed. De la Bigne, Paris, 1589. Tom. v, col. 1440.

aus Latins par laquelle il avoit opprimé les courages des siens." Bercheure (XIV. cent.), in his translation of Livy, as quoted by Littré, *s. v.* Imprimer. Littré here remarks that the form *imprimer* is comparatively modern: the older was *empreindre*, from which our English *prent* and *print* were no doubt taken.

The word occurs in Wyclif's unquestioned works:—"On two maneris, may a man kepe Goddis word; first to printe þe witt in his soule, and after to reule his liif þerby."—*S. E. W.*, I. 380.

The *Promptorium* has Inprentyd, Inprentynge, &c. (p. 262); and, though the *Speculum* of Koster was printed in 1438, it is hardly probable that the recent invention can have been known to a recluse friar, preacher at Bishop's Lynn, as the author describes himself in his Preambulum in the year 1440, which he there gives as the date.

p. 9, **L.** 95. [This description of the Church as made up of the saved agrees with Wyclif's definition, "Congregacio omnium predestinatorum," *De Ecclesia*, p. 2.]

P. 9, **L.** 100—103. There is a passage in Wyclif's *De Sermone Domini in Monte*,[1] which is very similar to these lines as to reflex benefit of prayer, where what is prayed for must necessarily take place: "Videtur . . . . quod iste sanctus (*Augustinus*) concedit, ut sæpe alias, quod omnia quæ evenient de necessitate evenient, et sic non foret orandum a viatoribus nisi de quanto oratio ipsos faceret disposiciores (*sic*) ut suscipiant lumen Dei."—Part II, 7. MS. Trin. Coll. Camb., fol. 382.

p. 9, **L.** 110. "Panis quotidianus aut pro iis omnibus dictus est, quæ hujus vitæ necessitatem sustentant, de quo cum præciperet, ait, Nolite cogitare de crastino; ut ideo sit additum, Da nobis hodie: aut pro sacramento Corporis Christi, quod quotidie accipimus: aut pro spiritali cibo, de quo idem Dominus dicit, Operamini escam quæ non corrumpitur." *S. Aug. de Serm. Dom. in Monte*, lib. II., cap. 7.—H. E. N.

p. 10, **L.** 129. *he knyttys to a condiciown.* Above L. 113 we have, "to feed with our souls." In *Piers the Plowman* we have a similar construction: "And send ous contricion to clanse with *oure soules.*" C. XVII, 25.

Cf. our "to lay by money," "to cut off a piece," "give back money."

p. 11, **L.** 144. [Compare the following extract from Wyclif's tract on Confession:

"Continuaunce of mannes synne wiþouten sorowe and displesaunce wole make his synne harde, & bereue him power to sorowe þerfore & to gete mercy, and þus men shulden euer drede synne and flee to knytt on to anoþer; for when a man synkis in þe myre, at the laste he may not helpe hym self."—*English Works of Wyclif*, p. 339.]

p. 11, **L.** 156. "Solum peccatum finalis impenitentiae (quod est peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum) proprie est mortale."—Wyclif, *Trialogus*, III. 5 (p. 145).

"þat man synneþ agenst þe Holy Gost, þat to his lyve end is rebelle agenst God."—Wyclif, *Arnold*, 3, 109.

p. 11, **L.** 161. The other three texts (see note *supra* on **L.** 59—161) add the following, which I transcribe, with notes, from Mr. Arnold (III. 96, 7):—

"In þe eende of þe Pater Noster, AMEN is the signet of þe Lordis praier, whiche word þe Ebru translatoure, Aquyla,[2] interpretiþ, 'and þe

[1] Now printed by Wyclif Soc., *Opus Evangelicum*, ed. J. Loserth, p. 285.

[2] Aquila, concerning whose life all that we know is derived from the work of St. Epiphanius *de Ponderibus et Mensuris*, was a native of Sinope, who

Lord confermede.' Ciprian[1] on þe Pater Noster seiþ, whatevere oþir wordis þe desire of him þat praieþ fourmeþ in bifore-goynge, þat it be cleer, oþir addiþ afterwarde, þat it encreesce, we seie noon oþir þinge þan þat is conteyned in þe praier of þis Lord, ȝif we praien riȝtli and covenabli. For whanne a man seiþ, Lord, be þou glorified in alle folkis as þou ert glorified in us, what oþer þing seiþ he þan þat, Þi name be halwid? And whanne a man seiþ, Lord, schewe þi face to us, and we schulle be saaf, what oþer þing seiþ he þan þat, Þi rewme come? Whanne a Ps. LXXX. 3. man seiþ, Lord, dresse my steppis up þi spechis, what oþir Ps. XVII. 7. þing seiþ he þan, Þi wille be doun? Whanne a man seiþ, Lord, ȝif not povert ne richessis to me, what oþer þing seiþ he 1 Ki. III. 11. þan þis, ȝif us to-day oure eche daies breed? Whanne a man seiþ, Lord, have mynde of David and of al his myldnesse, Ps. CXXXII. 1. and, ȝif I have ȝolden yvelis to hem þat ȝolden yvelis to me, falle I voyde fro myn enemyes, what oþer þing seiþ he þan þis, Forȝive to us oure dettis, as we forȝyven to oure dettȝures? Whanne a man seiþ, Lord, do awey fro me þe coveitise of þe wombe, what oþir þing seiþ he þan þis, Leed us not into temptacioun? Whanne a man seiþ, My God, delyvere me fro myn enemyes, what oþir þing seiþ he þan þis, Delyvere us from yvel? And ȝif þou rennest aboute bi alle þe wordis of holy praieris, þou schalt fynde noþing whiche is not conteyned in þis praier of þe Lord. Whoevere seiþ a þing þat may not perteyne to þis prayer of þe gospel, he praieþ bodili and unjustli and unleeffulli, as me þenkiþ. Whanne a man saieþ in his praier, Lord, multiplie myn richesses, and encreese myn honouris, and seiþ þis, havynge þe coveitise of hem, and not purposynge þe profit of hem to men, to be bettir to Godward, I gesse þat he may not fynde it in þe Lordis praier. Þerfore be it schame to aske þo þingis, whiche is not leefful to coveyte. If a man schameþ not of þis, but coveytise overcomeþ him, þis is askid, þat he delyvere fro þis yvel of coveytise, to whom we seyn, Delyvere us from yvel.

HERE ENDIÞ ÞE PATER NOSTER."

H. E. N.

p. 11, L. 161. The doxology (Mat. vi. 13) is not in the Vulgate. It is not in the Catechism, and was not introduced into the Prayer-book until 1661, and then probably because it was in the Authorized Version. It is omitted in the Revision of 1881.

"In those first days
When Luther was profest, he did desire
Short Paternosters, saying as a fryar
Each day his beads; but having left those laws,
Adds to Christ's prayer the power and glory clause."

Donne, Satire II.

"The doxology is, no doubt, an addition to the original text. It is not in B, D, Z, L_2, nor in Cod. Sinait., nor in Vulg., nor Coptic. It is rejected

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became first a Christian and then a Jew, and, to please his new co-religionists, made an exceedingly literal translation of the scriptures of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek, about the end of the first century of our era. Of this version unfortunately only some fragments exist. See the article "Aquila" in the *Biographie Générale*.

[1] There are no expressions in St. Cyprian's treatise, *De Oratione Dominicâ*, as found in modern editions, which exactly correspond to those quoted in the text.—Since writing the above, I have found the passage quoted in the text in one of St. Augustine's Letters; *Epist. CXXX.*, cap. 12. "Quæ libet alia verba dicamus, quæ affectus orantis vel præcedendo format ut clareat, vel consequendo attendit ut crescat, nihil aliud dicimus quam quod in ista Dominica Oratione positum est, si recte et congruenter oramus."

by Griesbach (who says of it, 'certissime delenda'), Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Alford, and even Wordsworth. The Romanists charge the Protestants with having corrupted the Lord's Prayer. But the Doxology had been brought in long before the Reformation. It is found in E, G, K, L, M, S, U, V and Δ. From 2 Tim. iv. 18, its liturgical use would seem to have begun even then. The charge made by Dean Donne against Luther is peculiarly unfortunate, for Luther does not mention the Doxology in his Catechism (Wetstein on St. Mat. VI. 14).—H. E. N.

p. 11, **L.** 162. Saying the Ave Maria is directed in l. 629. [This is quite in accordance with Wyclif's declaration "videtur mihi quod impossibile est nos premiari sine Marie suffragio." Sermon No. 26, MS. Lambeth 23.] Printed (*W. S.*), *Sermones*, ed. J. Loserth, IV. 391.

p. 11—14, **L.** 162—222. *Ave Maria.* This passage seems to have been disseminated in a separate form by Wyclif, and it is given almost verbatim by Arnold (*Sel. Eng. Works Wyc.*, III. 111), with the following note prefixed:—

"This tract is mentioned by Bale, under the title 'Super Salutatione Angelica.' It also, as has been already mentioned, bears the name of Wyclif at the end, in the Harleian MS. 2385. If written by the reformer, which seems to me very probable, it must have been an early composition. The language used respecting indulgences is less trenchant than that which he was accustomed to use in his later years, and the general tone of the composition milder. This tract is found along with that on the Pater Noster, No. III, in all the MSS. which contain the latter."

H. E. N.

p. 12, **L.** 169. In Bodl. 789, and other MSS., this line runs:—"And so many men folili truste to suche praier"; Mr. Arnold adopts this reading, and remarks that the one in our text (from Lamb. 408) "completely alters the sense."—H. E. N.

p. 12, **L.** 175. "No man mai come to blis but ȝif he heere and kepe Goddis word; . . . ne oure Ladi myȝte not come to blisse, but ȝif she had herd and kepte his word. And herfore God ordeynede hir to be maistiresse to his apostlis, for she fel not fro þe feiþ, ne fro þe wordis of hir sone, but kepte hem wel in her herte, and caste wel what þei menten. And herfor it is no wondur ȝif she be more blessid þan oþer."—*S. E. W.*, I, 380.

p. 12, **L.** 176. *clowtyd*, patched, pieced. A.S. *clut*, a clout. "And no man putteth a clout of buysteous clothe in to an elde clothing" (Wycl.) St. Matt. ix. 16. "a patche," St. Mark, ii. 21. "I had nede go cloute my shoes: *Jai bien mestier de faire carreler mes souliers.*"—Pals. 488.

In the Bodleian MS., printed by Mr. Arnold (*S. E. W.*, III. 111), we have *encresid;* but the *clouted* of our text accords very well with the spirit of lines 204—221, where Wyclif returns to the subject, and also with the disparaging use which he elsewhere makes of the word.—"þei (*þes newe ordris*) done sumwhat þat is good, and many þingis amys; and so stondiþ þer cloutid reule, boþe in good and yvel."—*S. E. W.*, I. 302. "It seemeþ to many men þat alle þes newe ordris ben rotyn postumes, and tatered cloutis . . . . . For alle þes ordris ben cloutid by Cristis religioun wiþouten his autorite, and departid among hem self."—*Id.* 400.

p. 12, **L.** 183. *þis fyl longe* [*aftyr*]. "After" is in all the other MSS. For "fyl," the Bodleian 789 reads "ful" (*S. E. W.*, III. 112), the Dublin C. v. 6, "fel."

p. 12, **L.** 184. *aue reuersys þe name of Eua.* Cf. *Myroure of oure*

Ladye, p. 77, and Wyclif, *Sel. Eng. Works*, III., p. 112. (Cf. also *Adam de Sto. Victore* [Seq. XLV., Annunciatio Beatæ Mariæ Virginis]:—

"Missus Gabriel de cœlis
Verbi bajulus fidelis,
Sacris disserit loquelis
Cum beata Virgine;
Verbum bonum et suave
Paudit intus in conclave
Et ex *Eva* format *Ave*,
Evæ verso nomine."

H. E. N.)

p. 12, L. 185—7. *Oure lady contrarryyd Eue* . . . Cf. *Iren. adv. Hær.*, v. 19. "Manifeste itaque in sua propria venientem Dominum, et sua propria eum bajulante conditione, quæ bajulatur ab ipso, et recapitulationem ejus quæ in ligno fuit inobedientiæ, per eam quæ in ligno est obedientiam, facientem, et seductione illa soluta, qua seducta est male illa, quæ jam viro destinata erat virgo Eva, per veritatem evangelisata est bene ab angelo jam sub viro Virgo Maria. Quemadmodum enim illa per angelicum sermonem seducta est, ut effugeret Deum prævaricata verbum ejus, ita et hæc per angelicum sermonem evangelisata est, ut portaret Deum obediens ejus verbo. Et si ea inobediret Deo, sed et hæc suasa est obedire Deo, uti virginis Evæ virgo Maria fieret advocata. Et quemadmodum adstrictum est morti genus humanum per virginem, salvatur per virginem: æqua lance disposita virginalis inobedientia per virginalem obedientiam."

Also *Justin Mart. Dial.*, p. 327: "*Καὶ διὰ τῆς παρθένου ἀνθρωπος γεγονέναι, ἵνα καὶ δι' ἧς ὁδοῦ ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως παρακοὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, διὰ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ κατάλυσιν λάβῃ. παρθένος γὰρ οὖσα Εὔα καὶ ἄφθορος τὸν λόγον, τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως συλλαβοῦσα, παρακοὴν καὶ θάνατον ἔτεκε. πίστιν δὲ καὶ χαρὰν λαβοῦσα Μαρία ἡ παρθένος, εὐαγγελιξομένου αὐτῇ Γαβριὴλ ἀγγέλου . . . ἀπεκρίνατο. γένοιτό μοι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου.*"

And *Tertull. De Carn. Chr.* 17: "Crediderat Eva serpenti, credidit Maria Gabrieli; quod illa credendo deliquit, hæc credendo delevit."

Substituting our Lord for the B. V. M., the same thought is contained in a curious inscription over the door of the little church of St. Théodule, at Champéry, Valais, which I copied in 1875:

"Quod an tris mulce pa
guis ti dine vit
Hoc san Chris dulce la."

Cf. also Wyclif:—"Ave Maria," (*Matthew's Eng. Works of W.*, p. 207).—"Bi þat womman Eue cam sorowe, peyne & woo to mankynde, for sche tristed not sadly to goddis word, but tristed to þe fendis gabbynge & coueited ouermoche kunnynge & dingnyte; but by sad bileue & mekenesse & charite of marie cam joie & saluacion to mankynde, for her bi sche conseyuede crist."—H. E. N.

Cf. *Adam de Sto. Victore* (Seq. VI., "Nativitas Domini:"—

"Eva prius interemit,
Sed Salvator nos redemit
Cunis suæ merito.
Prima parens nobis luctum,
Sed Maria vitæ fructum
Protulit cum gaudio."

See also the same, xci. 1, and xcii. 43.

"Nothing is more common in liturgical poetry than the comparison of Eve with Mary—'The New Eve.'" Gautier.—H. E. N.

p. 13, L. 192. *stronde.* We find this contrast between the well, or source of grace, and the stream supplied by it in Wyclif's Sermons:—"And herfore seiþ Poul aftir, þat þere ben divisions of grace, but certis it is þe same spirit, of whom comen al þes graces, as of o welle comen many strondis."—*S. E. W.*, II. 338.

p. 13, L. 195, 6. Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 10:—"The living God, Who is the Saviour of all men, specially of those that believe."—H. E. N.

p. 13, L. 195. *god ys with alle creàturis*, &c. So in tract on the Ave Maria:—

"God þe trinyte is wiþ eche creature bi myȝt, wisdom & goodnesse to kepe it, for ellis it schulde turne to noȝt; but god is wiþ goode men of vertuous lif bi grace to approve and accepte here doyngis."—*Eng. Works of Wyclif*, p. 208.

p. 13, L. 204. *hard to men to grounde hem leue to adde þis.* Other additions were made before the sixteenth century, but they were scrupled at, as we see in the *Myroure*, not however as by Wyclif, because an addition to the words of Holy Scripture, but because an addition to the set use of the Church.

The addition of the word Jesus was, however, adopted at Syon:—

"Iesu. that ys to say Sauyoure. For he hathe saued vs fro synne and from helle. he sauethe vs dayly from the malyce of the fende. and from perylles. and he hath opened to vs *the* way of endelesse saluacio*n* therfore endelesly be that swete fruyte blessed. Amen. So be yt. Some saye at the begynnyng of this salutacyon. Aue benigne Iesu. and some saye after. Maria. mater dei. wyth other addycyons at the ende also. And suche thynges may be sayde when folke saye theyr Aues of theyr owne deuocyon. But in the seruyce of the chyrche. I trowe yt be moste sewer. and moste medefull to obey to the comon vse of saynge. as the chyrche hathe set. without all suche addicions."[1]

p. 13, L. 207. *þe pope yefes gret pardoun to men þat addys þese wordys.* "Ferdermore as for the salutacyon of our lady pope Urban and pope Iohan to all beynge in clene lyfe that in the ende of the . Aue maria) saye / . Ihesus amen) as ofte as they saye it they haue graunted of pardon . lxxxiiii . dayes / and as ofte as thou sayst oure ladyes psalter / so ofte thou hast of pardon . xxxiiii . yere and xxx . wekes."[2]

Similar Indulgences have been granted for saying the rosary, or a part of it, subject to various conditions, by different popes between that time and the present. Pope Pius IX., by a decree, dated the 9th May, 1851, granted indulgence of ten years and ten quarantaines (*forty days*) once in each day, to the faithful who, having at least a contrite heart, recite together the third part of the rosary, either in their houses, or at church, or in a public or private oratory. To those who are accustomed to recite a third part of the rosary, at least three times a week, he granted plenary indulgence the last Sunday of each month, provided that, being truly repentant, they confess and communicate, and visit a church or a public oratory, and there pray for some time with the intention of his Holiness. He declared all the above indulgences to be applicable to souls in purgatory.[3]

p. 14, L. 218. *generaly*, here used in its proper sense—*to all.* The same argument is used in a question asked by *Jacke Upland* (A.D. 1401) of the friars in reference to their letters of fraternity:—

> "If your letters be good,
> why grant ye them not generally
> to all manner of men,
> for the more charitié?"—*Political Poems*, II. 21.

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[1] *Myroure of oure Ladye*, ed. Blunt, E. E. T. S., p. 79. As to the modern addition of a direct prayer to the Blessed Virgin, see Mabillon, *Præfat. in Acta Sanctorum Ord. S. Benedicti*, Sec. V., cxxiii.; *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, p. 184.

[2] *Festyuall*, 1515, fol. 159 *b*.

[3] *Dictionnaire des Décrets*, Migne, 1860, s. v. *Rosaire*, c. 1101.

p. 14, L. 220. *to sey*, for saying.

p. 14, L. 220. *lady sawter.* The Lady psalter was so called because it included the repetition of a hundred and fifty Ave Mary's in accordance with the number of the psalms. It corresponds with the devotion which is known by the more modern name of Rosary, though that is not confined to the saying of fifteen decades, or sets of ten aves. For example, the rosary of Saint Bridget in honour of the three and sixty years, the supposed length of the life of the Blessed Virgin, is composed of six decades of Aves, each beginning with a Paternoster, and ending with a Credo; the six decades being, moreover, followed by one Paternoster and three Aves.

There is some difference of opinion among Roman Catholic writers on this subject, as to when this devotion was first introduced. It will be observed that Wyclif does not speak of the Lady-psalter as a novelty in his day. From his mention of it in connection with the Ave-Maria there can be no doubt that he does not intend the *Psalterium Mariæ*, consisting of one hundred and fifty strophes, each beginning with *Ave*. Mone gives several examples from manuscripts of the twelfth century onwards, and mentions that in some he had noticed a change in the phrase of greeting—in the first third, or fifty strophes, *Ave*, in the second *Salve*, and in the last *Gaude*.[1] He also mentions that these Latin devotions began to be used in the vulgar tongue in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[2]

In connection with this subject it may not be unacceptable to the members of the E. E. T. Society, if I add some extracts from an English legend, which is not later than the end of the thirteenth century, inasmuch as it occurs in the Digby MS. 86, which was written about 1290,[3] from which it is printed by Dr. Horstmann, in his new series of *Old English Legends*.[4] It is inscribed with a heading in French, "*Coment le sauter noustre dame fu primes controue.*" After an invocation to the "Leuedi swete and milde," he goes on:—

"Ich wille biginnen here
Of þi sauter here
And tellen þe manere
Mid wel gode chere,
Nou at þisse stounde
Ouhit wes . . I-founde."

He goes on to tell of a rich man, who "louede holi chirche," and lived near an abbey which his elders had founded, and here he sent his only son.

"Monk he þere bicom
Ne let he none stounde
Wiþ abit he þer nom
Þat he ne fel to grounde
Bi his fader wille.
And on knewes bat,
* * * * *
And þoute of þe wonde
Þe leuedi ful of miȝtte
Þat god for al þe mounde
Þat bar oure driȝtte,
On rode hevede I-sprad.
In a chapele þere,
Bi day and eke bi niȝtte
On houndret to þe meyde
Out we ne comen miȝtte,
Aue maries he seyde,
Were ware he were.
Bi tale heche daye.
Ou alle ich telle may:
He hit nout ne aleyde,
On houndred ewche day
Ac so wel he pleyde—
He grettingges seyde.
Riȝt soþ for to saye—
Wel he held his lay
Þat he sau wel briȝtte
And þe ordre, bi mi fay!
Oure leuedi foul of miȝte
For loue of þat mayde.
A settres-day, I-wis,
* * * * *

[1] *Hymni Latini medii Aevi*, II. 242. [2] *Ib.*, II. 245.
[3] *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, 1881, p. 211. [4] *Ib.*, p. 220—224.

Were hoe sat wel riȝtte
I-cloþed half bi siȝtte
And seyde to him þis:
Mi monk, ne dred þe nout,
For I þe haue I-bout
And þe ich wille take.
Thou hauest so goed fulwraut
Ne worst þou nout bikaut:
Goed ne shal þe lake.
* * * * *
Ac þou (most more say)[1]
Wor (*me now euche day*)
Fifti al bi score
Of aue maries,
Fifti on day þries,
Wiţe nou were-fore:
Þat is riȝt mi sauter.
And þou shalt witen her
Hou it shal ben do:
Fifti seye bi-fore
Tene eueri bi score,
And on anteme þerto.

* * * * *
After sey wel sone
Fifty mididone
Al for þat ilke blisse,
Þat he wiþ-outen (sore)
Wold offine ben (bore)
Þat þou þer-(of ne misse).
Þer aft(*er þou shalt say*)
Eft (*fifti euche day*)
Bi (*þine fingres ten*)
O(*f aue maries*)
(*euche day þries*)
(*Telle hit fele men*).
* * * * *
Nou ich bidde here
Ou alle wiþ gode chere
Þat ȝe suggen þries
Wiþ wel gode wille
Boþe loude and stille
Þese aue maries."

We find a bequest of a pair of beads in the Will of Roger Flore, or Flower, 1424 (Furnivall, *Earliest English Wills*, 58), which illustrates this subject, and adds one more to the many examples where we find underlying the formal details of a legal document, apart from their antiquarian or archæological interest, touches of tender feeling, and unconscious evidence of the heart's belief of the testator. "And I will þe Maister of Manton (*Ricardum Harvey, Magistrum cantarie de Manton*, ib., 55/8), haf my pair of bedys þat I vse my self, with þe x aues of siluere, and a pater noster ouer-gilt (*silver gilt*), preying him to haue mynde of me sumtime whan he seith oure lady sawter on hem."

Mabillon[2] speaks of the rosary as consisting of a hundred and fifty aves, and fifteen Lord's prayers. The modern rosary is made up not only of one hundred and fifty smaller beads, with a larger bead between each ten, but where the ends of the string join there are five beads with a cross or crucifix. It is thus used. The creed is said on the cross, on the first bead a paternoster, an ave on each of the three next beads, and a paternoster on the last. Then an ave is said on each of ten smaller beads, and a paternoster on the larger bead, and so on until one hundred and fifty aves and fifteen paternosters have been said in addition to the creed, three aves and one paternoster before beginning the rosary proper.

p. 14, L. 225. *þre credys.* The Apostles' Creed was known as the "lesse crede" or the "English Creed," and of this it was said in the *Myroure*, p. 311, "each man is bound to can and say." The Nicene was called the mass-creed, or the *Symbolum patrum*, but the rubrics generally call the Athanasian creed *Psalmus*.

Latimer, when he was Rector (?) of West Kingston in Wiltshire, writing to his neighbour Sir Edward Baynton, says, "There be three creeds, one in my mass, another in my matins, the third common to them that neither say mass nor matins, nor yet know what they say, when they say the creed; and I believe all three, with all that God hath left in holy writ for me and other to believe."—*Sermons and Remains*, P. S. II., 332.

[1] The words within parenthesis are from the Auchinlech MS. (about 1410), in places where a piece has been cut off from the Digby.

[2] *Præf. in Sæc.*, V. cxxviii., p. 456. Cat. 494.

p. 14, **L.** 234. Cf. Bishop Latimer's *Sermon on the Plough.*—"The devil shall go for my money, for he applieth to his business. Therefore, ye unpreaching prelates, learn of him to be diligent in doing your office; if ye will neither learn of God, nor of good men, for very shame learn ye of the devil."—H. E. N.

p. 15, **L.** 235. *and. secler lordys.* [The Dublin MS. reads "as" for "and".]

p. 15, **L.** 244—253. This is interesting, especially in view of Pearson's curious contention (Art. I.) that the "I believe in God" of the Creed, simply means "I believe that God is": though Augustine had said, "Ecclesiam credere, non tamen in Ecclesiam credere, quia Ecclesia non Deus est, sed Domus Dei est." The passage under review appears to be taken from *St. Aug. in Joan*, Tract. 29, and in Ps. 130. "Aliud est credere *Illi*, aliud credere *Illum*, aliud credere *in Illum*. Credere Illi est credere verum esse quod loquitur; credere *Illum* est credere quod Ipse sit Deus; sed credere in Illum est diligere Illum. Credere Ipsum esse Deum, hoc et doemones potuerunt."—"Quid est ergo credere *in Deum?* Credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in Eum ire, et Ejus membris incorporari." Pearson attributes the distinction especially to St. Augustine and the Latin Church. But he fails to note the force of πιστεύω εἰς as contrasted with πιστεύω ἐπί in such passages in the N. T. as St. John ii. 22—24, iii. 15, 36, v. 46, 7, vi. 29, 30, viii. 30, 1, xii. 36, 38, 42, xiv. 11, 12; Acts xiv. 23, xvi. 31, &c. Bishop Charles Wordsworth remarks on St. John ii. 22—4: "Πιστεύω εἰς τινά seems to come very near in meaning to πιστεύω ἐμαυτόν τινι."—H. E. N.

p. 15, **L.** 244. *sotel.* Here Canon Simmons has made a marginal note; cf. *Victor* (Wrangham). He probably refers to the following verse from his Sequence XXII. (Trinity):—

"Digne loqui de Personis
Veni transcendit rationis,
Excedit ingenia.
Quid sit gigni, quid processus,
Me nescire sum professus:
Sed fide non dubia."

H. E. N.

p. 16, **L.** 266. Cf. the fourteen points of T. 53.

p. 16, **L.** 269. *stondynge his godhed;* "subsistente deitate."

p. 16, **L.** 277, 278. The scribe may have had in his mind, "The Lord, the Giver of Life."

[The Dublin MS. reads "love," justifying Canon Simmons' conjecture. Compare "þe þridde persone in trinyte, to whom is apropryd true love," *E. W. of W.*, p. 363.—F. D. M.]

p. 17, **L.** 292. "Ut nos redimeret ab infernali captivitate, anima sua descendit ad inferna cum deitate, corpore manente in sepulchro, et extraxit secum animas quæ in terra fecerunt suam voluntatem."—*Speculum Ecclesiæ of Edmund Rich*, c. xiii.

"His sowle": cf. **L.** 455: "þe gost with þe godhed went in-to helle."

Als **T.** 143: "Whilke he in his forloke wold that wer saued."

p. 17, **L.** 306. Wyclif does not here introduce the doctrine of predestination that underlies his conception of the Church.

p. 17, **L.** 310. This view is everywhere taken by Wyclif. For example, when condemning what seems to have been speaking of the Church, rather than an unsound definition, (just as men are now sometimes described as "going into the Church," instead of taking Holy Orders),—he writes:—

"Whanne men speken of holy Chirche, þei undirstonden anoon prelatis and prestis, monkis and chanouns and freris, and all men þat han crownes (*i. e.* that have the tonsure), þouȝ þei lyven never so cursedly azenst Goddis lawe,—and clepen not ne holden seculeris men of holy Chirche, þouȝ þei lyven nevere so trewely after Goddis lawe, and enden in perfect charite."—*Arn. Sel. Eng. Works*, III. 447.

And so, in a sermon on the Gospel for the twentieth Sunday after Trinity, (The Marriage of the King's Son),—"And so men seien comounly þat þere ben here two manere of chirches, holy Chirche or Chirche of God, þat on no manere may be dampned, and þe Chirche of þe fend, þat for a time is good, and lastiþ not; and þis was never holy Chirche, ne part þerof."—*Arn. Sel. Eng. Works*, I. 50.

p. 17, **L.** 307. *angelys and seyntis in heuyn and alle þat schul be sauyd.* So Wyclif, in his tract on the Te Deum:—

"Holy Chirche haþ þre partis. Þe hiȝeste ben angelis of hevene; þe secunde, seintis slepinge in purgatorie; þe þridde is folk þat schulen be saved, here fiȝtinge in erþe. Of þese and noone oþere is holy Chirche maad."—*S. E. W.*, III. 53.

This definition of the "general" or Catholic Church was one of the heresies laid to his charge: "Quod nullus praescitus est pars ecclesiae."—*Fas. Ziz.*, p. 2. Cf. note on **L.** 95.

p. 17, **L.** 307. *þat schul be saved.* Compare the rendering of τοὺς σῳζομένους (Acts ii. 47) in the A. V., "such as should be saved," which has been adopted in the latest Roman Catholic English Version.[1] The Wyclifite versions both run "that weren maad saaf." This, if we understand "safe" as of a present state of salvation, seems to come nearer the "being saved" of the Greek, and is all the more to be remarked, as the reading of the Vulgate is in the subjunctive, "qui salvi fierent."

p. 18, **L.** 312. "Quanto magis nostri prelati ac religiosi, qui nec habent ex prophecia nec ex evidenti scriptura quod sunt predestinati, non frontose assererent quod sunt partes sancte ecclesie."—*Wyclif's Latin Sermons*, ed. Loserth, I. 4 (p. 22).—F. D. M.

p. 18, **L.** 316. *þre.* Cf. *Arn.* III. 339; *De Christo*, cap. 1.

p. 18, **L.** 317. The masculine pronoun is here applied to the Church. In *Thoresby*, line 203 (p. 44), we have the neuter, "and save the right of *it*," although in the previous line the Church is called "our gastly modir."

p. 18, **L.** 317. *wandrys here in erthe.* "Good lif of men þat ben wandrynge in þis weye is betere preyere to god."—*Tractatus de Pseudofreris*, c. 8; *W. E. T.*, 321.

Mr. Matthew remarks on this passage: "*viator* is the word generally used by Wyclif to signify man living on the earth."—*W. E. T.*, 524.

Cf. "Et secundum apostolum, 1 Cor. 3°: Si viator habuerit omnem fidem, ita ut montes transferat, caritatem autem non habuerit, nihil est."—*Dialogue*, C. xvi., p. 32/6.

p. 18, **L.** 317. Purgatory is afterwards (**L.** 536) spoken of as a place of punishment; but here, as of the resting-place of departed spirits. And so Wyclif sometimes speaks of purgatory as the place where the saints are sleeping;[2] or, as in his sermon on the raising of Lazarus, he says,

[1] Dublin "with the approbation of the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland," 1857. The Rhemish Version was, "them that should be saved."

[2] *S. E. W.*, III. 53, quoted in note on **L.** 307. *Ib.* I. 101.

"No word of this story wantiþ sutil goosli witt. Crist criede wiþ greet vois, to teche þat soulis in purgatorie, be þei never so fer from him, comen anoon to his[1] crye."

In one of his latest treatises, *The Church and her Members*, he speaks of the saints in purgatory, who "synnen not of þe new, but purgen þer olde[2] synnes"; and in an exposition of the Paternoster, printed by Mr. Matthew, he refers to purgatory as a place of punishment, as in the place in our text, above referred to, exhorting to "have saad mind of the schortnesse of lykynge in sin, and on þe bittre peynes of purgatorie and helle." And again, "when we sayn, *but deliver us fro euyl*, we preien þat god deliuere vs from alle euyl of synne and peyne, boþe of body and soule, in þis lif and in purgatorie, and namely fro peyne of[3] helle."

p. 18, L. 319. *Þese popys ne prelatys.* Above (L. 312) it is said that "men cannot know whether they are parts of holy church, and that exalted ecclesiastical office, apart from holy living (cf. L. 311), does not justify any such pretension." This highness in prelacy is here identified with popes and prelates, and we find similar language often used by Wyclif. "By þis hope (*of being safe in bliss*) bineþe bileve, shulden be two synnes fled; pride of men and coyetise, bi title þat þei ben men of holi Chirche. For no pope þat now lyveþ woot where he be of þe Chirche, or where he be a lym of þe fend, to be dampned wiþ Lucifer."[4]

Towards the close of his life, when he had definitely declared against the papacy, he speaks more strongly: "Certum est, quod nec papa in persona propria, nec ecclesia conversans cum illo, cui non sit revelatio, scit si prædestinatus fuerit vel præscitus, et, per consequens, si sit membrum ecclesiæ vel diabolus incarnatus. Quomodo ergo perversa est in fidem ista præsumptio, quod papa necessario est salvandus et errare non poterit in agendis."[5]

p. 18, L. 320. "Debet in militante ecclesia esse unica secta Domini Jesu Christi; et per consequens quatuor sectæ post sectam Christi per diabolum introductæ debent cessare gratia unitatis ecclesiæ militantis.

"Sunt istæ sectæ quatuor, ut sæpe dictum est, clerus cæsareus, monachi, canonici atque fratres. Clerus Cæsareus est multitudo sacerdotum, qui temporali dominio sunt dotati, cujus patronus insabilis dicitur esse papa, et regula lex papalis. Secunda secta dicitur esse monachi bipertiti, cujus patronus dicitur esse Benedictus et regula quam ex ejus sententia beatus Gregorius compilavit. Tertia secta dicuntur canonici, cujus patronus fingitur Augustinus . . . Quarta secta et ultima dicuntur fratres, qui in ritibus et aliis observantiis multipliciter sunt divisi, sicut et triplex secta possessionatorum in albos et nigros, viros et fæminas, quas sanctimoniales dicimus, dividuntur."—Wyclif, *De Christo et Adversario suo Antichristo*, cap. 2, *Polemical Works*, p. 656.

p. 18, L. 324. Every individual member (*eche parte*) of the (invisible) church is in communion with, and helps the other members, whether in heaven or earth; and so Wyclif, "Debet autem in ista ecclesia et qualibet sui parte esse pax et unitas, cum omnes partes singulæ debent mutuo se juvare, cum locorum distantia non impedit adjutorium spirituale."—*De Christo et Adversario suo Antichristo*, § 5, p. 654.

p. 18, L. 330. *fyue wyttys.*—Ἡ πένταθλος αἴσθησις. *Liturg. Clem. Mark.*, A. E. L., 205, 33.

[1] *S. E. W.*, II. 100. [2] *S. E. W.*, III. 339. [3] *W. E. T.*, 201.
[4] *S. E. W.*, III. 339.
[5] *De Christo et Adversario suo*, § 92. Buddensieg, p. 48-9. *Polemical Works*, p. 678.

p. 19, **L.** 332. Wyclif discourses on the five senses in *Trialogus*, p. 94, and in the *Latin Sermons*, I. 203. In both cases the order differs from that given here, as smell precedes taste.

p. 19, **L.** 343—348. The remarks on the sense of touch have much in common with a passage in *How Satan and his Children*, &c.—*E. W. of W.* p. 218.—F. D. M.

p. 19, **L.** 349-50. In Wyclif's *Latin Sermons*, II. VI., p. 36/22, the inner senses are enumerated as "sensus communis, virtus imaginativa, virtus estimativa, virtus fantastica, et virtus memorativa." A similar list is in *Trialogus*, p. 95. It does not seem easy to make out the correspondence of the English with the Latin.—F. D. M.

p. 21, **L.** 370. Cf. **L.** 266: the second part of the Creed contains fourteen articles.

p. 22, **T.** 66. *parsons and vikers and al paroche prestes.* Where the tithes were appropriated a vicar was sometimes appointed, but more often a priest, dismissible at will, was hired to perform the services. This was the "parish priest" of the text.—F. D. M.

p. 23, **L.** 387. *on godys behalve.* Cf. the second Exhortation in the Communion Service:—"according to mine office, I bid you in the Name of God, I call you in Christ's behalf: . . ."

p. 24, **C.** 39 omits the Double Procession. Though it is inserted both in **T.** and **L.**, yet it may be noted in illustration of the connection between Thoresby and Wyclif, that, although the latter sometimes urges the teaching of that doctrine, he elsewhere, speaking of the Greek Church, considers it doubtful. Cf. *S. E. W.*, **T.** 146, with **T.** 152.

p. 25, **L.** 417. *holly on.* The scribe seems to have misunderstood the "hali" of his copy, and taken it to mean "wholly."

p. 26, **T.** 124. *merryng.* A.S. merran; Goth. marzjan (σκανδαλίζω).

"He palde merrin hire meidhād."—*Cockayne, Marh.* 4.

p. 27, **L.** 432. *to god or with god.* This additional distinction is made with reference to the saints already in heaven.

p. 27, **L.** 437, 439. *be vertu of þe holy gost. . . . . throwȝ myȝt and strenthe of þe fadyr of heuyn.* It will be noticed that **L.** is much more precise than **T.**, which makes no distinction between the conception and the incarnation. With this compare:

"Quamvis enim tota Trinitas incarnavit Verbum et misit Spiritum Sanctum, hoc tamen solum originaliter fit ex Patre, qui sic delexit mundum ut Filium suum unigenitum daret."—*De Benedicta Incarnacione*, p. 222/17.

Power is the special attribute of the Father in the Trinity.—*E. W. of W.*, 362. Cf. supra, **L.** 256, p. 15.—F. D. M.

p. 28, **T.** 141. "E carcère secum in cælum."—*Art. Trid.*, 5, VI. 9.

p. 29, **L.** 455. *gost.* for "saule" of **T.** 140. Canon Simmons has here a marginal note, "gost, not a synonyme, but more accurate." But in **L.** 292 (p. 17) we have—"his sowle went to helle."

p. 29, **L.** 458. It is to be noticed that this addition weakens the assertion of predestination in **T.**

p. 29, **P.** 52. *ad spoliationem Tartari.* The Spoiling or Harrowing of Hell was a favourite scene in the Miracle Plays.

p. 30, **T.** 155. ἰσάγγελοι, "euen with angels."—*Wycl.* "modico minoratus quam angeli."—Heb. ii. 9.

p. 30, **T.** 165. *whethir-sum for whichever:* cf. "howsumdever."

p. 33, **L.** 488. The arrangement of the commandments is that which still obtains in the Roman Catholic church, our first and second commandment being counted as the first, while our tenth is divided.

p. 33, **L.** 508 . . . . This answers to the second commandment.

p. 33, **L.** 518. *(n)eddyr.* The *n* erased, but the first part of the downstroke may be traced.

p. 35, **L.** 549. *Who brekys.* The same formula will be found in the exposition of the other commandments. It survives in Archbishop Hamilton's *Catechism.*

"Quha brekis yair halieday?"—folio xxxvi b[a]

"Quha brekis this command?"—folio xlvi°.

p. 37, **L.** 556. *swere be no þyng þat god hab wrougt.* This addition is to be noticed. The objection to oaths was one of the distinguishing tenets of the Lollards, and is among the eleven points undertaken by Pecock in the *Repressor.* Compare "ne by ony creature," p. 39, **L.** 592. There is, of course, an implied reference to Matt. v. 34—36.—F. D. M.

p. 39, **L.** 601—604. The triple rhyme here is noticeable.

p. 39, **L.** 605. It is curious that there is no mention of the word Sunday, or of church authority, as in **T.**

p. 41, **L.** 629. *þyn Aue maria.* Wyclif not only enjoins but practises invocation of Christ's mother. "Crist and his modir . . . . . kepe his kirke in right byleve of þis sacrament." Concerning the Eucharist (Knighton's so-called Retractation).—*S. E. W.*, III. 503.

["Sed Maria mater Domini videtur ex hoc specialiter honoranda, cum ipsa fuit archa fidei et virtutum in sancto sabbato, Christo mortuo, et plus quam privati prelati habet racionem gignendi christicolas in virtute; secul enim est mater misericordie sic est mater aliarum virtutum que in filiis Dei spiritualiter procreantur. Ideo (ut dicit apostolus) saluta sepius hanc Mariam."—*Sermones*, I. 112/37.]

p. 41, **L.** 636. *debat.* Debate is used now of discussion, no doubt often accompanied by very angry feelings; but in Early English it appears to have been invariably used of a quarrel or strife; and is so used in the A. V., 2 Cor. xii. 20. In Rom. i. 29, the ἔριδος ("debate") of the Greek is *contentio* in the Vulgate.

Shakspeare employs the word in its modern sense, and also according to the older use:—

"Now, lords, if heaven doth give successful end
To this debate that bleedeth at our doors,
We will our youth lead on to higher fields,
And draw no swords but what are sanctified."

2 Henry IV., IV. 4.

Hampole enumerates among venial sins:—

"When þou paynes þe noght, after þi state,
To accorde þam þat er at debate."—*P. C.*, 3472-3.

p. 41, **L.** 637. *bylde many chirches.*

["dubitatur de modo construccionis basilicarum tam fratrum quam omnium clericorum. Et videtur ex principio huius evangelii quod Christus reprobat ipsas tam opere quam sermone."—*Sermones*, II. 328/17.]

p. 45, **L.** 689. *a thowsand-fold more cursyd.* "Lord, hou louen þes curatis here sugetis soulis þat wolen for foure pens bitake hem bodi and soule to þe fend, ȝe, whanne þei may not paie for verray pouert, and whanne þei don not here gostly office; and þanne þe curatis ben more

cursed of god for wiþdrawynge of techynge in word, in dede, in good ensaumple þanne þe sugetis wiþdrawynge tiþes and offryngis whanne þei don wel here gostly office."[1]

"Þis is a feyned word of anticristis clerkis þat, ȝif sugetis may leffully wiþdrawe tiþes and offryngis fro curatis þat openly lyuen in lecherie or grete oþere synnes and don not here office, þan seruauntis and tenauntis may wiþdrawe here seruyce and rentis fro here lordis þat lyuen opynly a cursid lif. for to þe first sugetis han þe auctorite of goddis lawe and mannus lawe also, but not to wiþdrawe seruyce and rentis fro wickid lordis; but ben chargid of god bi petir and poul to be þus suget to wickid lordis; and þerfore crist paiede for hym and his apostlis tribut to þe heþene emperour."[2]

p. 45, L. 689. *suggettys wyþdrawyng here tythis.* The right, or rather the duty, of parishioners to withdraw their tythes from scandalous incumbents was frequently insisted upon by Wyclif.

"Siþ god seþ bi þe prophete þat euyl prestis ben cause of fallynge of þe peple, alle manere men ben bounde to amende þis defaute; for ellis þei stonden not in goddis hestis ne charite. and here-fore gregory seiþ þat no man harmeþ more cristis chirche þan he þat haþ þe name of ordre and holynesse and þer-wiþ lyueth euele, for comunly no man reproueþ hym, and men taken gretly ensaumple of his synne; and þerfore crist purgid þe temple with his owen hondis, as þe gospel telliþ, in tokene þat ȝif prestis weren good þe peple schulde sone be amendid. and for þis skille trewe men seyn þat prelatis ben more bounden to preche trewely þe gospel þan þes sugetis ben holden to paie here dymes, for god chargiþ þat more, and þat is more profitable to boþe parties and more esy. And þerfore prelatis ben more cursed to cesse of þis prechynge þanne þe sugetis ȝif þei cessen to paye tiþes; ȝe, whanne here prelatis don wel here offis.[3] . . . . . ȝif prelatis failen of good lif and techynge, þei moten be þus seruyd of men, for ȝif men vnder hem knowe þis defaute and may amenden it and don not þei consenten and meyntenen hem in þis grete synne."[4]

"Cristenmen of þis ground þenken þat pariȝschens shulden drawe fro persouns offeringis and dymes and oþere godis whanne þey faylen opynly in þer offiss, for siche assent is to blame þat nurshiþ persouns in siche synne."[5]

p. 46, T. 210. *Sklaunder or bacbite.* Cf. *Robert of Brunne* :—

"What sey ȝe of þys backbyters
Þat wykkede wurdes aboute bers?
Þey make oft moche stryfe,
And apeynen many mannys lyfe.
ȝyf þou bryng a man yn fame
Þat he haue euere lastyng shame,
Byfore God þou hym slos
Whan þou hym reuest his gode los.
Bakbyter, þurghe ryghte resun,
Of þre mennys deþ ys enchesun.

[1] *The Office of Curates*, c. 5, *W. E. T.*, 146. It may be mentioned that Wyclif elsewhere defends himself from any extension of his counsel to the case of laymen.

[2] *Of Servants and Lords*, W. E. T. 229-30. Here in the margin of the MS. is a reference, "Matt. xvii.," but it will be noticed that the payment of tribute there mentioned (*v.v.* 24-7), is altogether inapplicable to the argument, as it was the half-shekel for the service of the temple.

[3] Cf. L., 691. [4] *Of Prelatis*, c. 1, *W. E. T.*, 56-7.

[5] *De Officio Pastorali*, c. 8, *W. E. T.*, 418. See also *Of Clerkes Possessioners*, c. 25, *ib.*, 132. "This withdrawing of tithes was the subject of the ninth of the twenty-five points that were charged against Wyclif's followers after his death, and is dealt with in an answer, which had been catalogued as among his works, but, as pointed out by Mr. Arnold, it was put forth after his death, and could not have proceeded from him."—*S. E. W.*, III. 454.

Þou wost weyl, wyþ outen les,
Þe bakbyter fyrst hym self sles;
He slekþ hym hym þat trowyþ hys lesyng,
Whan he forþ beryþ hys bakbytyng;
And hym algate þat hyt ys on leyde,
He ys slayn; Gode help þe vþbreyde.
As moche þan he ys to blame
Þat 3eueþ a man a yle eke name;
3yf hys ry3t name he wyþdrawe,
Gostlyche þou hast hym slawe."

H. S., 1514—1533.

p. 46, **T.** 211. *withdraives lyuelade.* So *Robert of Brunne*:—

"3yf þou þurghe wykkede ordynaunce
Fordost pore mannys sustynaunce
Þat aftyrwarde he may nat lyve,
Þou art coupable,—a 3yfte y 3yve.
"3yf a pore man þe craue
A melys mete hys lyfe to saue,
3yf þou mayst 3eue hym, and nat wylt,
Before God þou hast hym spylt."—*H. S.*, 1324—1331.

"They are slayers gastely that will noghte feede the pover in nede, and that defames men and that confounds innocentys."—*Richard of Hampole*, quoted by Canon Perry, Ecclesiastic, Jan. 1866, p. 15.

p. 47, **L.** 716. *wrongwysly.* Inserted in recognition of the exceptions which are commanded or allowed in the Word of God.

p. 47, **L.** 727. ["patet quanti sacerdotes et prelati specialiter sunt irregulares, cum a primo usque ad ultimum omnes subtrahunt spirituale suffragium nequiter occidendo. Et hec occisio causat apud Deum irregularitatem magis culpabilem quam occisio corporalis."]—*Sermones*, I. 119/29.

p. 49, **L.** 768. *annvel rent.* These rents, levied by ecclesiastical judges from clergy and laymen alike for persistent adultery, fornication, and other notorious transgressions, had been authoritatively branded as a grave scandal before the time of Wyclif by Archbishop Stratford. In the constitutions—his so-called Extravagants—published in the Provincial Council of London, A.D. 1342, he endeavoured to abolish, or at least to regulate them. He broadly charges the archdeacons of his province of Canterbury, and their officials, and some bishops, though he only mentions these as "certain others, the archdeacons superiors" (*eorum superiores, quidem alii*) with remitting without making any distinction (*indifferenter*) the bodily and open penance, that should have been a terror to others, so that offenders of this sort were by many said to rent those sins. He adds that they put the money in their pockets, and did not dispose of it for the use of the poor or other good ends.[1]

We find the practice, against which the Archbishop raised his voice, had been alluded to in a satirical poem on the Evil Times of Edward II.:—

"And thise ersedeknes that ben set to visite holi churche
Everich fondeth hu he may shrewedlichest worche;
He wol take mede of that on and that other,
And late the parsoun have a wyf and the prest another,
at wille;
Coveytise shal stoppen here mouth and maken hem al stille."
Political Songs, ed. Wright, C. S., p. 326.

[1] *Lynd.*, III. 52, *Quoniam reus:* He ordains that, in case of persistence in notorious sin, no money shall be received on a second occasion, under pain of forfeiting double the amount to the fabric fund of the cathedral; and that in those cases where money commutations might be hereafter allowed, they should be so moderate that the receiver should not be condemned as rapacious; and the giver should not himself be too much burthened.

So, too, in the Complaint of the Ploughman:—

"For a simple fornication
Twenty shillings he shall pay;
And then have an absolution,
And al the yere usen it forth he may."
Political Poems, Wright, I. 324.

See also *E. W. of W.*, p. 35, and note on the passage, p. 495.

p. 50, T. 220. With this compare *Hampole:* "The sevende Commandement es, Thou sal noght do na thyfte, in the whylke es forboden alle manere of withdrawynge of other mene thynges wrangwysely, agaynes thaire wylle that aghte it, [that has right to them, T. 224], but if it ware in en tyme of maste nede when alle thynges erre comone." He goes on to speak of thefts by false weight and measures, as L. 787, but with the exhaustive specification of weight, number, capacity and length; and he further specifies usurers, and the wrong doings of lords and minor officials, which are not mentioned in L., as might have been expected from its tendency to enlarge upon offences against the lower classes.

"And here is forbodene gillery of weghte, or of tale, or of mett, or of mesure, or thorowe okyre, or violence, or drede, als bedells or foresters duse and mynystyrs of the kynge, or thurge extorcyone, als lords duse."[1]

p. 51, L. 796. In the Ayenbite, in the handwriting of, and translated by Dan Michel, who was a monk of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, we do not find these distinctions drawn, but he divides breakers of this commandment into open thieves by sea and land, who take their doom when caught; sly thieves who steal in corners, and privy thieves, who abuse their employer's confidence. P. 37.

p. 51, L. 802. *al þo þat wast here godis*, &c. I think that in this paragraph Wyclif was making reference to the clergy, although without naming them. (This is certainly the case in the next paragraph as to the Friars and questors.) He asserts frequently that all the income of the clergy, beyond what they absolutely need for a livelihood, is the property of the poor, but this rests on his theory that the clergy should live on alms, and I am not aware that he ever makes a similar statement concerning laymen, who may hold property. Still, without laying it down as a political or social law, he may very well have taught that the rich were bound not to waste their superfluous wealth, but to expend it on the poor.—F. D. M.

p. 51, L. 802. Further note:—"For it was neuer cristis lore to make prestis riche and knyȝtis pore," &c. &c. See, "The Clergy may not hold property," a tract ascribed by Dr. Shirley to Wyclif, but regarded as doubtful by Mr. Matthew (*Eng. Works of W.*, p. 359). Mr. M. thinks that W. may have derived from William of Ockham, the bold defender of the Empire against the Pope, his strong belief that it is the duty of priests to live in poverty: and he points out from a tract of his upon the claim of Urban V. to the arrears of tribute due under John's vassalage, that he had formed this opinion as early as 1366.—H. E. N.

p. 53, L. 808. *as þe wys man seys.* "Where?" is Canon Simmons' note in margin. I suppose the reference is to Ecclus. xxxiv. 25. "Panis egentium vita pauperum est: qui defraudat illum, homo sanguinis est."—F. D. M.

p. 53, L. 813. "Bot þei (*Freris*) chargen so myche þis roten habite, for herby þo puple wenes þat þei ben holy, and gyven hom more dritt þen

[1] *The Ten Commandments*, u. s. p. 16.

is nedeful or profitable. And herfore iche partȝe drawen oþer to helle,—þo freris for hor fals takyng of almes when no need is, ne þei have leeve of Gods lawe þertǫ,—þo blynde puple, for þei drawen hor almes fro hor pore and nedy neghtboris, where þei schulden do hit by þo heest of God, and mayntenen freris in hor fals beggyng, ypocrisie, and oþer synnes mony."—Wyclif, *Fifty Heresies*, cap. 29; *S. E. W.*, III. 389.

p. 55, **L.** 844. *alle þat sey. þat cryst beggyd*, &c. "þes freris seyn þe contrarie and grounden hem an ordre of þer wilful beggyng, bi men þat han no nede; and herbe schulde men hope to sitt hye in heuen, for, as þei lien falsly, crist begged þus."—*W. E. T.*, 352/3.

"Secundus abusus fratrum est crimen blasphemiae quo imponunt in christum, quod mendicavit notabiliter ab homine."—*Trial.* 367 (cf. *Trial.* 341, 345).

p. 55, **L.** 847. *among his peyl schuld no begger be.* "Et omnino indigens et mendicus non erit inter vos," Deut. xv. 4.—F. D. M.

p. 54, **T.** 232, and p. 55, **L.** 859. It will be noticed that the arrangement of the commandments differs, **T.** following the order of Exodus and the division which now prevails in the R. C. and Lutheran churches, while **L.** takes the order of Deut. v. 21, and divides in a way which, having the authority of Augustine, did not die out until the arrangement was decided at the Council of Trent.

Wyclif's tract on the Ten Commandments, published by Mr. Arnold (*S. E. W.*, III. 90), agrees with **T.** in arrangement, as well as in its explanation that the ninth commandment refers to things "that ben immevable." It would seem that the Decalogue agreed with our English law in recognizing an important distinction between real property and chattels.

The difficulty of satisfactorily dividing these commandments is shown by the fact that in the Catechism of the Council of Trent, as in **L.**, they are combined under one exposition.—F. D. M.

p. 55, **L.** 866. *werk-best.* In both Wycliffite versions this is "ass" both in Exodus and Deuteronomy, but the *jumentum* of Ex. xx. 10, is translated "werkebeest."—F. D. M.

p. 57, **L.** 882 and 885. Bulls of pardon and letters of fraternity are common objects of Wyclif's denunciation. He more rarely attacks chantries, although he does not spare them on occasion. (Cf. *Polemical Works*, 272, and *E. W. of W.*, 177.) The foundation of chantries was the fashionable form of endowment. Men had ceased to believe in the holiness of the various orders, and preferred to get a sure return for their money in the shape of masses for their intention. Sometimes the foundations were temporary, as in the will of John Chelmyswyk (*Earliest English Wills*, 31/13), who left £70 to pay two priests for seven years. In other cases it was perpetual. Thus Thomas Walwayn leaves certain properties for "a chaunterie in Marcle-chyrch . . . for a prest to seynge thir perpetually," *Id.* 25/10.—F. D. M.

p. 62, 63, **T.** 277, **L.** 991. *bathe, byrthe.* Against **T.** Canon Simmons has written in the margin "mistake of scribe," and against the "byrthe" of **L.** he has marked "regeneration." I cannot tell whether this is merely a note for consideration, or expresses his settled opinion. It appears to me, looking at the context, that "bathe" is correct; it corresponds to the *lavacrum* of Eph. v. 26.—F. D. M. (I think that the pencilled "mistake of scribe" refers not to the ink-mark over "bathe," but to the pencilled mark in the previous line, transposing the order of the words, "first the." **L.** has "þat we take furst, whan we be-come cristyn"; and it makes

better sense in **T.** to read "That we take first, the tyme that we becum cristen.")—H. E. N.

p. 62, **T.** 288:—

"Hiȝt moght be do ine kende water,
And non other licour."—*Shoreham*, 8.

He goes on to exclude wine, cider, perry, ale, "for-thie it were water ferst."

p. 65, **L.** 1015. *be þe grace*, &c. It will be noticed here that whereas **T.** says that the bishop confers the grace and gifts of the Holy Ghost; the sacerdotal power is made less of in **L.**, where we are told that the bishop gives "by the grace . . . that is of God's grant." Probably the same idea has caused the change in the line 305/1018, where the statement that the bishop alone has this power is altered into one, that only the bishop ought to do this sacrament.

p. 66, **T.** 318. *Als hale as he toke it*, &c. "Jam vero hoc loco a pastoribus explicandum est, non solum verum Christi corpus, et quicquid ad veram corporis rationem pertinet, veluti ossa et nervos, sed etiam totum Christum in hoc sacramento contineri."—*Cat. of Council of Trent*, P. II., C. IV., Qu. xxxi.

And again: "Neque vero illud praetermittendum non solum in utraque specie, sed in quavis utriusque speciei particula totum Christum contineri."—*Id.*, Qu. xxxiv.

In the corresponding passage, **L.** 1131, the alteration "ryȝt as he tok it," might have suggested the conclusion that the reviser held that the Body and Blood of Christ were given in the sacrament, as they were sundered by his death; His Body being right as he took it of the Blessed Virgin, and not changed as at His resurrection into a glorified body. But we find nothing in Wyclif to justify this suggestion. He and the Lollards in general, whatever divergence there may have been as to the mode of the real presence, do not seem to have scrupled at the received practice as to the administration of the sacrament under one kind.

In his *de Incarnatione*, Wyclif says of the host, "fit signum signans nobis ineffabiliter quod ad omnem punctum sui sit sacramentaliter corpus Christi et concomitanter anima et omnia alia Christi accidencia absoluta."—*Fas. Ziz.*, lxi. [p. 190 of Mr. Harris' edition.]

p. 66, **T.** 320. *anes in the yhere.* The rule as to communicating is thus laid down in the *Pupilla Oculi*, written in 1358.

"¶ Nota secundum constitutionem ecclesiæ quod omnis fidelis tam vir quam mulier, post quam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, tenetur semel in anno omnia peccata sua confiteri proprio sacerdoti; et ad minus in paschate sumere eucharistiæ sacramentum, nisi ob rationabilem causam de consilio proprii sacerdotis duxerit abstinendum.

"Alioquin vivens ab ingressu ecclesiæ arceatur et moriens Christiana careat sepultura: et hoc statutum ne ignoretur, debet frequenter in ecclesiis publicari. *Ex. de pe. et re.* cap. *omnis utriusque sexus.*

"Unde pueri cum sint prope ætatem adultam, scilicet cum sint decem annorum vel undecim, et apparent in eis signa discretionis et reverentiæ ad sacramentum possunt communionem et sacramenta assumere: alias non."—*Pars* IV. cap. viii. fol. xix. G.

The Wycliffite edition (**L.** 633) adopts the rule as to the minimum of once a year at Easter; but in *Piers the Plowman* we find once a month:—

"Her is bred yblessid · and godes body þer-under.
Grace gaf þorw godes worde · to peers plouhman power.

and myghte to maken hit · and men for to eten hit,
in helpe of here hele · ones in a monthe,
Oþer as ofte as thei hadde neode."—C. xxii. 387—391.

p. 66, **C.** 178. *vivum.* In the *Lay Folks' Mass-Book*, p. 227, note four, I have printed this as *unum*. I had so read the MS. many years ago, when I was engaged in collecting materials for a *History of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, and I found no difficulty in the expression from referring it to the doctrine of concomitance, which was at this time naturally received among theologians in this country. The MS. was very indistinct, but, on examination, there were only five strokes, and an "m" superscript, and not six as there would have been for *unum*.

It so happens that my misreading of the text does not affect its doctrinal import. With either reading it teaches equally that the *res sacramenti* is not the broken body and the outshed blood of Christ as sundered by his death, but, as now defined by the Council of Trent, the whole Christ. (See note on **T.** 318.)

p. 67, **L.** 1025. *opyn schrift of oure mouþ.* It will be noticed that the authorized doctrine as to confession is here reproduced without qualification, as is the mention of penance, **L.** 1035.

Open shrift is no doubt here used, not for "common" telling of sin,[1] or "general shrift and open to man,"[2] as public confession was called by Wyclif, but of private confession in which the penitent opened his sin to the priest. This is an argument for the early date of the Wycliffite adaptation, for in his later tracts Wyclif, whilst allowing the benefit of confession made by mouth to a wise priest of living,[3] and that the pope's law may "do profit to some,"[4] enlarges upon the dangers to chastity[5] and other evils[6] incident to enforced private confession; and, so far from counting penance as one of the seven sacraments, lays it down that "privy sorrow of the heart is no sacrament of the Church, nor privy rowning (whispering) late brought in, for sacraments be open and known."[7]

p. 67, **L.** 1039, 1040. *to hys saluacioun, to his da[m]pnacioun.* It will be seen that **L.** here adds *to*, in this following the more accurate language of earlier writers:—

"Alle þey þat receyue þis sacrament
Yn dedly synne or wykkede entent,—
* * * * * *
Hyt ys to here dampnacyun
And þerfore veniaunce shal be doun."—*H. S.*, 10152-7.

p. 68, **T.** 329. *halowed and handeled of prest.* There is an opening for misunderstanding here. The oil was consecrated only by the bishop, once a year (on Holy Thursday), although of course administered by the priest. It is noticeable that this statement is given without variation in **L.** 1042, because it was one of Wyclif's charges against the prelates that they reserved to themselves the consecration of the oil (among other things) as a means of gain.—*W. E. T.*, 69.

p. 68, **T.** 330/331.

"To tham that he wate er of skillwise elde,
And that he seis sikerly in peril of dede."

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[1] *W. E. T.*, 335. [2] *W. E. T.*, 338. [3] *S. E. W.*, III. 461.
[4] *S. E. W.*, III. 358, and "I wot þat þise new confessions han don myche good in þe chirche and þerwiþ myche harme."—*W. E. T.*, 337.
[5] "Freres and religious wymmen mai sone assente to lechere."—*S. E. W.*, III. 358. Cf. *W. E. T.*, 330.
[6] *W. E. T.*, 331. [7] *W. E. T.*, 341.

These are almost the words of the *Rituale Romanum*:—"Debet autem hoc Sacramentum infirmis praeberi, qui, cum ad usum rationis pervenerint, tam graviter laborant ut mortis periculum imminere videatur." (*Romae*, 1750, p. 101.)—F. D. M.

p. 69, **L.** 1053. *for to synge messis.* This insistence on singing masses as the first duty of the priest is curious, since it does not correspond to anything in Wyclif's special teaching. It is the more noticeable, as all the rest of this instruction on the sacraments is copied almost word for word.—F. D. M.

p. 70, **T.** 363. *Vestio.* This is an error for *visito* (see **C.** 206). The *tego* (sc. nudum) being the word for this in the memorial verse.—T. F. S.

This verse will be found in Wyclif's *Latin Sermons*, vol. i. p. 259, where it runs:—"visito poto cibo redimo tego colligo condo." With the remark, as in **C.**, "Sex istorum patent Marci xxv°., et septimum de mortuorum sepultura patet Thobie I°."

It will be noticed that there is a difference of order in each of the texts. The biblical order would run, as in **C.**:—"Cibo, poto, colligo, tego, visito, redimo, condo."—F. D. M.

p. 71, **L.** 1060—1065. This greater insistence in **L.** on the work of mercy is characteristic, and the note thus struck is maintained in the long additional passage, 1078—1142.

p. 72, **L.** 1090. *þe ypocritys.* In the sidenote Canon Simmons gives "friars" as the hypocrites in question, but a MS. note in the margin questions whether friars only are meant, with a reference to p. 53. No doubt the meaning is wider. It applies to all who spend alms in self-indulgence and display; and since Wyclif reckoned all tithes as alms, it applies to the endowed clergy as well as the friars.—F. D. M.

p. 73, **L.** 1115. *with þe stole of vndedlynesse.* A reference to 1 Cor. xv. 54, which runs in both Wycliffite versions, "whanne this deedly thing schal clothe vndeedlynesse" (induerit immortalitatem vulg.).—F. D. M.

p. 73, **L.** 1119. *þe worldly tytyl.* "duplici titulo stat hominem habere temporalia, scilicet titulo originalis justitiae et titulo mundanae justitiae. Titulo autem originalis justitiae habuit Christus omnia bona mundi, ut saepe declarat Augustinus; illo titulo vel titulo gratiae justorum sunt omnia, sed longe ab illo titulo civilis possessio. Unde Christus et sui apostoli spreta dominatione et possessione civili fuerunt de habitione pure secundum primum titulum contentati."—*Trialogus*, IV. xvii., p. 306.

p. 75, **L.** 1134. *presonyd for hate and for trewthe þat þey mayntene.* Wyclif's short tract, *Lincolniensis* (*S. E. W.*, III. 230), is chiefly directed against the wickedness of imprisoning poor priests. After the Council at Blackfriars, May 1382, in which the tenets of Wyclif were condemned, the King issued a letter giving power to the bishops to commit to prison all who maintained the twenty-four condemned conclusions:—"Nos zelo fidei catholicae, cujus sumus et esse volumus defensores in omnibus ut tenemur, commoti, nolentesque sustinere hujusmodi hereses aut errores infra terminos nostrae potestatis aliqualiter pululare; praefato archiepiscopo ejusque suffraganeis ad omnes et singulos qui dictas conclusiones sic damnatas praedicare seu manutenere voluerint clam vel palam, ubicunque inveniri poterunt, arestandum et prisoniis suis propriis seu aliorum pro eorum beneplacito committendum, in eisdem detinendos quousque ab errorum et heresum pravitatibus resipiscant, ... auctoritatem et licenciam tenore presencium concedimus et committimus, June 22, 1382."—*Lambeth Register.*

This letter is of a later date than our treatise, but the bishops' prisons were an old-standing institution. Moreover, their power was not restricted to putting such offenders as they dared to arrest in their prisons. It was the duty of the Chancellor, on petition of the ordinary, to imprison any one who had remained under the major excommunication for forty days. —F. D. M.

p. 76, **T.** 374. *Unde versus*, &c. In Wyclif's *Latin Sermons* (I. 248), the memorial verse is but of one line:—"Doc. consul. castig. solare, remitte, fer, ora." This is no doubt one of the school helps to memory. It will be noticed that while **L.** keeps to this order, which is also that of the tract printed by Mr. Arnold (*S. E. W.*, III. 177), **T.** departs from the order of its own verse, and puts prayer out of place.

The author of **L.** is more diffuse in his exhortation, but he has not the poetic fervour which breaks out in the verse **T.**, 376/379.—F. D. M.

p. 76/77, **C.** 124, and **P.** 176. It will be noticed that **C.** confines the term "principal" to the theological virtues, while he distinguishes the moral virtues as "cardinal"; **P.**, on the other hand, while marking off the theological virtues from the others, includes them all under "principal."

p. 82, **L.** 1224. *in here abyte of hire ordre.* Wyclif inveighs very sharply against this claim on the part of the friars,[1] which as regards the Franciscans had in some degree received the papal sanction in the early part of the century. Wadding, reciting indulgences granted by Clement V. in 1313, says—"Et sepeliendis in habitu Minorum quartam partem omnium peccatorum remisit."[2] It was also a subject of "invective" on the part of the Lollards. Thus Jacke Upland:—

> "Why make ye men beleeve
> that he that is buried
> in your habit.
> shal never come in hel?"[3]

We may judge from the reply of Friar Dan Topias, that he felt the question an awkward one:—

> "Jak, that frere was over lewid
> that lernede the this lessoun
> or ou thi ficul fantasie
> thou faynyst this fable.
> Ffor Austyns ne prechours
> proponen no siche pointis.
> whether the carmes of her copes
> mayntenen siche an errour,
> or whether seint Fraunce
> hath geten to his habite
> that vertu be his grace
> witterly me ne wote."[4]

Bishop Latimer, in 1536, preaching before the Convocation of Canterbury, speaks of purgatory being "swaged and cooled with a Franciscan's cowl put upon a dead man's back to the fourth part of his sins."[5]

Bloxam (*Gothic Eccles. Architecture*, ed. 1882, II. p. 289-90) figures and describes a fourteenth century monument of a knight in chain-mail, and over it the Franciscan cowl, hood, and knotted cord:—

> "And they, who to be sure of Paradise
> Dying, put on the weeds of Dominic,
> Or in Franciscan thought to pass disguised."

The practice has survived among Roman Catholics:—"He died in the Dominican habit" (*Memoir of William Henry Wilberforce*, by Cardinal Newman, p. 15, 1873).

[1] See for example, *Polemical Works* (Buddensieg), pp. 143 and 306.
[2] *Annales Minorum* (Lugduni, 1636), III. 148. [3] *Political Poems*, II. 21.
[4] *Id.* 82. [5] *Sermons of Bp. Latimer*, P. S. I., 50.

p. 82, **L.** 1225. *parlows* :—

"Youre preching is perilouse
It poiseneth sone."
Dan Topias (to Jacke Upland), *Pol. Poems*, 2513.

p. 86, **T.** 451. *The seven capital sins.* It will be noticed that here, as with the Virtues, the order differs, the two English agreeing together to follow the order of **P.** The **C.** order is adopted by Wyclif in the *Trialogus* (p. 160), as in his tract, "On the Seven Deadly Sins," where he gives a reason for this arrangement:—"þo fende, and þo worlde, and monnes owne flesche, stiren hym to coveyte ageynes God's wille. And so iche one of þes haves thre synnes, ffor ich one takes at other, and þese maken seven. Pride envye and wrath ben synnes of þo fende; wrathe slouthe and avarice ben synnes of þo world; avarice and gloterye, and þo synne of lecherye ben synnes of þo flesche."—*S. E. W.*, III. 121.—F. D. M.

p. 88, **T.** 452. Dan Michel in the *Ayenbite*, or rather the author of his French original,[1] refers to the 'Book of the seeings of my Lofd Saint Iohn' (Rev. xiii.), and his vision of the Beast with seven heads and ten horns as betokening the seven head sins ("þe zeuen hauedliche zennes"), and prefaces his interpretation of the prophecy with the warning that it scarcely happens that one does not fall into the throat of one of the seven heads.[2]

It is more probable that the name of head sins is a translation of the Latin *Peccata capitalia*.

p. 94, **T.** 537, 538. Job v. 7 runs in the Vulgate:—"Homo nascitur ad laborem, et avis ad volatum."

p. 94, **T.** 549. *leue*—permission. In the use of this word we find a further example of the way in which marriage was often regarded in the Middle Ages, in contrast with the greater theoretical sanctity of celibate life. Cf. *ante*, **T.** 518:—"other than the sacrement of matermony excuse," and the corresponding Latin of the Convocation: *quam sacramentum matrimonii non excusat.* "Matrimonium coelibatui postponendum."—*Conc. Trid.*, S. c. x. See also *Montanus against Marriage*, I. 83 *a*. Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 3: "forbidding to marry."

p. 97, **L.** 1409. *grettyst synne is in prestis.* **L.** as usual does not spare the priests. **T.** does not enlarge upon their sin, and this very possibly from no desire to screen them, but because it was intended for the lay folk, and to warn them as to what more directly concerned their own order. There is no such reticence in the *Handlyng Synne*, though it was intended "for lewdé men." In reference to this sin it says:—

"A clerk, ȝyf he ordrede be,
Hys synne ys more þan ouþer þre,
For he douþ þat he shulde forbede
And chastyse ouþere of swyche drede,
And þarto mochil more kan
Þan a noþer[3] lewede man."
H. S., 7408-13.

[1] *Ayenbite*, 14 (notes), p. 272.

[2] "Vor onneaþe yualþ (/) þet me ne ualþ (/) in-to þe þrote (/) of zenne: of þe zeue heauedes."—*Id.* p. 15.

[3] "Another" is used substantively, as in A. V.: "There were also two other, malefactors, led with him."—St. Luke xxiii. 32.

GLOSSARY.

A, *adj. num.* one, T. 84, 95, 127.
Acorde, *v.* to be suitable to, to befit, L. 298.
Aftyr, *prep.* according to, L. 314, 321, &c.
Agayn, *prep.* contrary to, against, L. 813.
Agreuyd, *pp.* burdened (in conscience), L. 947.
Alanely, *adv.* only, alone, T. 399.
Alegeaunce, *s.* alleviation, T. 332 (Aleggaunce, L. 1045).
Alkyn, *adj.* all manner, T. 315.
Alkyns, *adj.* all kinds, T. 542.
Allane, *adj.* one, T. 100.
Als, *conj.* as, for example, T. 511.
Als — als, *conj.* as — as, T. 209, 210.
Anely, *adv.* only, alone, T. 398.
Antecrist, *s.* Antichrist, L. 212, 315, 322.
Anoye, *s.* ennui, disgust, T. 525.
Ar, 3 *p. pl.* = are, L. 286.
Archebyschop, *s.* Archbishop, L. 391.
Archiepyschop, *s.* Archbishop, L. 49.
Arn, 3 *per. pl.* are, L. 104, 639, 1299.
Aselyd, *pp.* sealed, L. 890.
Askyngkys, *s. pl.* things asked for, petitions (note the Midland *k*), L. 68.
A-spye, *subj. pl.* 3 *per.* enquire, ascertain, L. 384.
Assethe, *s.* satisfaction, restitution, T. 246.
Assoiled, *pp.* absolved, T. 245.
At, *sign of infinitive*, to [see note, p. 295, *Lay Folks' Mass Book*], T. 208, 321 (L. 2, 1034).
At, *prep.* to, L. 35, 735.
At, *conj.* that, T. 516.
At, *pron. rel.* that, which, T. 209, 246, 516.
Athe, *s.* oath, T. 255.
Attanasy, Athanasius, L. 227.
Auantyng, *s.* boasting, speaking with vanity (*Lat.* vanus), T. 467.
Auaunt-makyng, *s.* vain boasting, L. 1315.
Aughtand, *adj. num.* eighth, T. 225.
Auerous, *adj.* avaricious (*Lat.* avarus), L. 750, 754.
Augh, *pr. pl. impers.* ought, T. 171, 262, 365, 419.
Augh, *pr. pl.* 1 *per.* owe, T. 418.
Augh, *pr. s.* ought, is bound to, T. 273.
Aught, *pr. s.* ought, T. 320.
Aught, *pr. s. impers.* ought, T. 325.
Auoutry, *s.* explained by spouse-brek, T. 551.
Avowtry, *s.* adultery, L. 762.
Awe, *impers.* ought, T. 106.
Awe, *v. pers. pl.* ought, T. 191.
Ay, *adv.* aye, ever, T. 477.
Aynlepi, *adj.* single, unmarried, T. 547.
Aȝen, *prep.* against, L. 1284.
Aȝens, *prep.* against, L. 133.
Aȝens, *prep.* anent, concerning, L. 394.
Aȝenst, *prep.* against, L. 159, 1286.

Bacbite, *pr. pl.* 1 *per.* backbite, T. 210.
Bacbityng, *s.* backbiting, T. 478.
Bakbyters, *s. pl.* backbiters, L. 734, 798.
Bathe, *adv. or conj.* both, T. 127, 161, 385.
Bathe, *adv.* both, equally, alike, T. 386.

Bathe, *dual adj.* both, T. 400.
Be-heet, *pt. pl.* 1 *per.* promised, L. 1211.
Be, *prep.* by, on account, T. 41, L. 47.
Be, *prep.* by means of, T. 511.
Be, *pr. pl.* are, L. 195.
Bedreden, *adj.* bedridden, L. 639, 810.
Behotys, *pr. s.* promises, L. 1251.
Behoues, *pr. s.* behoves, requires, T. 310.
Behoues, *impers.* behoves, requires, T. 349.
Behouely, *adv.* when need requires, befittingly, T. 185.
Be-houys, *impers.* behoves, L. 330, 368, 1023.
Beleue, *s.* faith, belief, L. 223.
Ben, *pr. pl.* are, L. 168, 187, 238, 244, &c.
Besily, *adv.* diligently, L. 384.
Bestad, *adj.* bestead, hard pressed, L. 516.
Blinnes, *pr. s.* ceases, T. 32, 397.
Bolnyng, *verbal subs.* swelling [Exod. ix. 31], T. 484.
Bonchef, *s.* prosperity, good fortune, L. 650.
Bone, *s.* boon, the thing granted, L. 139.
Boste, *v.* to boast, L. 313.
Bot, *conj.* unless, except, T. 450.
Bot if, *conj.* unless, T. 246.
Bothe—bothe, *dual adj.* L. 1191.
Bother, *dual adj. gen.* of both, T. 344.
Brenne, *v.* to burn, L. 923.
Brennynge, *part. pres.* L. 927.
But, *conj.* unless, L. 126, 167, &c.
Buth, *pr. pl.* are (*see* Ben), L. 173.
Buxom, *adj.* submissive, obedient, docile, T. 203, L. 82.
By, *v.* to redeem, L. 290.

Cald, *pp.* called, styled, named, T. 307, 452, 454.
Can, *pr. pl. subj.* if we know, T. 373.
Castys, *pr. s.* devises, plots, L. 1097.
Castys, *s. pl.* devices, schemes, L. 139.
Catell, *s.* property, T. 229, 242, &c.
Chargis, *pr. s.* values, esteems, L. 1144.
Charite, *s.* love of Christ to man, L. 618.
Chastyte, *s.* chastity. The vow of chastity, whether in marriage or religion. L. 763.
Chese, *v.* to choose, T. 429, L. 1277.
Childyr, *s. pl.* children, L. 286.
Chydynge, *s.* chiding, contention, quarrelling, L. 1366.
Clatheless, *adj.* naked, T. 356.
Clepyd, *pp.* called, L. 1020.
Clerk, *s.* scholar, T. 1, 11.
Cloþ, *s.* clothing, garment, L. 668, 1243.
Clowtyd, *pp.* added, tacked on, L. 176.
Comen, *adj.* common to, L. 261.
Commonys, *pr. s.* has part with, L. 324.
Communers, *s. pl.* partakers, T. 9.
Compas, *v.* to contrive, plan, T. 501 (To kast, L. 1349).
Conandly, *adv.* intelligently, clearly, T. 574 (kunnyngly, L. 1426).
Conandnesse, *s.* mind, secret inclination, T. 514.
Confermyng, *s.* the sacrament of confirmation, T. 299.
Confort, *v.* to strengthen, to support, L. 686.
Coniurisons, *s. pl.* conjurations, T. 179 (coniuryngе, L. 546).
Contraryyd, *pt. s.* acted the contrary part to, L. 185.
Cope, *s.* the monastic habit or *cappa*, L. 1232.
Crede of þe chyrche = Nicene Creed, L. 226.
Cristen, *adj.* Christian, T. 119.
Cristen, *adv.* christianly, T. 390.
Cristenly, *adv.* christianly, T. 204.
Cristyndom, *s.* baptism, L. 560, 561, 1211.
Crokyd, *adj.* crooked, bent double with age, lame, L. 640.
Cun, *v.* to con, to learn by heart, L. 230, 380.
Customyd, *pp.* habitually practised, L. 1407.

Dampnynge, *s.* damnation, L. 186.
Debat, *s.* strife, dissension, L. 636, 735.
Dede, *s.* death, T. 108.
Defaitor, *s.* fault, defect, T. 38.

Defawte, *s.* defect, omission.
Demynge, *s.* judgment, condemnation, L. 1325.
Depart, *v.* to sunder, L. 1275.
Dere, *v.* to injure, L. 831.
Dere, *adj.* dear, precious, T. 407.
Desesed, *pp.* deprived, dispossessed, T. 252.
Despit, *s.*, L. 1410.
Despite, *s.* contumely, T. 468.
Dette, *s.* duty, T. 41, L. 47.
Dettours, *s. pl.* debtors, L. 123, 131.
Dettys, *s. pl.* debts, trespasses, L. 123, 130.
Devowt, *adj.* helpful to devotion, L. 203.
Dey, *v.* to die, L. 157.
Disese, *s.* distress, L. 1149.
Doluen, *pp.* buried, *pp.* of delve, to dig, to bury, T. 138.
Don, *pp.* slain, L. 291.
Doyng out = *part. pres.* casting out, excommunicating, T. 323, L. 1036.
Dryt, *s.* dirt, L. 771.
Dyscrecioun, *s.* power to discern, L. 620.

Eche day, *adj.* daily, L. 108, 115.
Eld, *s.* age, T. 65.
Eldrys, *s. pl.* parents, L. 710.
Enquestes, *s. pl.* courts of inquest, enquiry, T. 249.
Eny, *adj.* any, L. 208.
Er, *pr. pl.* are, T. 55.
Eschewe, *v.* to eschew, avoid, beware of, L. 348.
Ese, *s.* ease, sloth, idleness, T. 539.
Euen, *adj.* equal, T. 89, 92.
Euen-cristen, *s.* fellow Christian, T. 56, 229.
Euynhede, *s.* equanimity, L. 1290.

Faes, *s. pl.* foes, T. 436 (Foys, L. 1284).
Falles, *pr. pl.* pertain, T. 53, 78, &c.
Fand, *v.* to endeavour, T. 458.
Fandes, *pr. pl.* attempt, T. 211.
Fare, *s.* fortune, hap, T. 435.
Felaschype, *s.* fellowship, L. 418.
Felawred, *s.* fellowship, T. 101.
Feyþ, *s.* the Faith, L. 370.
Filed, *pp.* defiled, T. 279.
Flityng, *s.* contention, chiding, T. 487.
Fole, *adj.* foul, unclean, T. 442.
Foly, *v.* to work folly, T. 215, L. 755.
Fonde, *v.* to endeavour, L. 1306.
Fondyng, *s.* temptation, L. 1285.
For, *adv.* because, T. 10, L. 10, 114, 116, &c.
Fordo, *v.* to destroy, T. 489.
Forhoue, *v.* to forsake, T. 449.
Forloke, *s.* foreknowledge, T. 143.
Forme-fadirs, forefathers, T. 21.
Forme-fadyr, T. 16.
Forthi, *adv.* because, T. 33.
Forthinking, *s.* repentance, T. 308.
Forthynk, *v.* to repent of, L. 1230.
Forþynkynge, *s.* vexation, repining, L. 1319.
Foster, *v.* to foster, nourish, bring up, T. 199.
Foughel, *s.* fowl, bird, T. 538.
Fourtied, *adj.* fortieth, T. 152.
Fredam, *s.* freedom, L. 161.
Fremned, *adj.* strange, T. 216.
Fresched, *pp.* refreshed, invigorated, nourished, strengthened, L. 119.
Froward, *adj.* perverse, L. 727, 767, &c.
Froyt, *s.* fruit, L. 201.
Furst, *adv.* first, in the first place, L. 214, 255, &c.
Fynd, *s.* fiend, L. 496, &c.
Fyrst, *adj.* first, L. 240, &c.

Gastely, *adj.* ghostly, spiritual, T. 364.
Gastely, *adv.* spiritually, T. 455.
Genderyng, *s.* bringing forth, L. 199.
General, *adj.* Catholic, L. 306.
Gere, *v.* to cause, T. 250.
Ger, *pr. s. subj.* require, T. 497.
Gilery, *s.* guile, deceit, T. 512.
Gloseris, *s. pl.* commentators (usually, but here) makers of false interpretations, L. 855, 856.
Godspel, *s.* gospel, T. 573.
Godys seruyse = Divine Office = The Breviary, L. 569, 573.
Gretynge, *s.* greeting, salutation; here, the "Hail Mary," L. 163.
Gretyþ, *pr. pl.* salute, L. 163.
Grucchis, *pr. s.* grudges, mislikes, L. 322.
Grucchyngge, *s.* murmuring, L. 642, 740.

Haldes, *pr. s.* retains, keeps possession of, T. 521, 523.
Hale, *adj.* whole, T. 323.
Hali, *adj.* whole, undivided, T. 100.
Halowes, *s. pl.* saints, T. 193.
Ham, *pron.* them, L. 329.
Hanked, *pp.* bound, entangled, T. 456. Cf. "a hank of yarns."
Hatten, *pp.* called, T. 470.
Haue, *v.* to behave, T. 383.
Haueing, *s.* means, wealth, competence, T. 213.
Haunted, *pp.* practised, T. 534.
Hauntynge, *s.* practising, indulging, L. 654.
Hede, *v.* to restrain, to hold back, T. 441.
Hede, *s.* care, charge, T. 200.
Held, *pp.* remained entire, T. 134.
Hele, *s.* salvation, T. 104, 570, L. 1422.
Hele, *s.* health of body, T. 333, L. 1280.
Hele, *adj.* saved, in the way of salvation, T. 105.
Hele, *v.* to heal, L. 522.
Hele, *v.* to cover, to clothe, L. 1088.
Helyng, *s.* concealing, T. 223.
Herber, *v.* to harbour, to lodge, T. 357.
Herberwȝe, *v.* to harbour, to lodge, L. 1072.
Herberwȝles, *adj.* homeless, L. 1072, 1116.
Here, *pron.* their, L. 326, 421, &c.
Here, *pron. acc. fem.* her, L. 706, 707, &c.
Here, *adv.* here, L. 317, 324.
Here-fore, *adv.* for this reason, L. 66, 146.
Herer, *s.* hearer, listener, T. 482.
Heried, *pt. s.* harrowed, despoiled, T. 141. A.S. hergian, from here, army.
Hertles, *adj.* listless, half-hearted, L. 1375.
Hertly, *adv.* at heart, in the heart, T. 525.
Heste, *s.* commandment, L. 606, 770, &c.
Hestys, *s. pl.* commands, L. 564.
Hethen, *adv.* hence, T. 335.
Hepyn, *s.* heathen, L. 718.
Heued synnes = Capital or deadly sins, T. 448.
Heued thewes = Cardinal and Theological virtues, T. 382.
Heyl, *adj.* saved, L. 422.
Heynes, *s.* high station, L. 313.
Heyȝed, *pp.* raised aloft, L. 102.
Hire, *pron. pers.* her, L. 285, &c.
Hire, *pron. pers.* their, L. 1224.
Holly, *adv.* wholly, L. 417, 976.
Holour, *s.* whoremonger, L. 782.
Homly, *adj.* familiar, L. 178.
Hool, *adj.* whole, entire, L. 449.
Hym, *per. pron. acc. pl.* them, L. 389.
Hyre, *s.* hire, wages, reward, L. 928.
Hyȝ, *adj.* high, L. 87.

Iche on, *pron.* each one, L. 309.
Ilk, *adj.* same, T. 10.
Ilke, *adj.* same, T. 112.
Inwyttys, *s. pl.* interior senses or faculties, L. 349.
Iues, *s. pl.* Jews, T. 133.

Jugge, *v.* to adjudge, L. 301.

Kast, *v.* to cast about, to plan, L. 1349.
Kende, *s.* nature, L. 271, 275, 279, 470, 473, &c.
Kendly, *adv.* naturally, L. 1386, 1387.
Kennd, *pp.* manifested, T. 559.
Kennes, *pr. s.* makes to know, T. 426.
Kepe, *v.* to have the cure, or care of, T. 39, L. 45.
Kepe, *v.* to keep, to preserve, L. 160.
Kepyng, *s.* charge, care, T. 60.
Kindly, *adv.* by nature, naturally, T. 538.
Knaue, *s.* manservant, T. 239, L. 861.
Knawe, *v.* to know, T. 449.
Knowyn, *pp.* made known, L. 1038.
Knowyn, *pp.* acquainted, knowyn with, acquainted with, L. 178.
Kun, *v.* to learn by heart, T. 31, 63, 69, 563.
Kunnandly, *adv.*, T. 571. *See* conandly.
Kynd, *s.* nature, T. 154, 157.
Kyns, *s.* kind, sort, T. 507.

Larnynge, *pres. part.* teaching, L. 34.
Lathe, *adj.* loth, disinclined, T. 535.
Latsumnesse, *s.* delay, tardiness, T. 528, L. 1377.
Lawed, *s.* a layman, T. 293.
Lefte, *pt. s.* left out, omitted, L. 177, 181.
Leful, *adj.* allowable, L. 336.
Lefully, *adv.* allowably, L. 134.
Lere, *pr. pl. subj.* learn, T. 62, L. 379.
Lered, *adj.* instructed, T. 34.
Lered, *s.* a cleric, T. 293.
Lerne, *v.* to teach, L. 236.
Leryng, *s.* teaching, instruction, T. 38.
Lese, *pr. pl. subj.* lose, T. 251.
Lese, *v.* to lose, impair, L. 269.
Leste, *adj. superl.* least, L. 246.
Lesynggys, *s. pl.* leasings, lies, L. 734.
Lettys, *pr. pl.* hinder, let, L. 1166, 1291, T. 442, 532, &c.
Leue, L. 204. Is not this passage obscure? How can it mean to establish on a firm foundation—"*to grounde hem*" = to leave off, "leue," to add this. Is it a misreading for "graunte hem leue = [= permission] to adde þis"? (Is it not "to place their permission on firm ground;" like "grounding" a boat; "to justify" their addition?—H.E.N.)
Leue, *imp. sing.* 2 *per.* leave, give up, L. 873.
Leue, *v.* to live, L. 314, 321, &c.
Leue, *pr. pl.* 1 *per. subj.* believe in, T. 174.
Leuefull, *adj.* permissible, T. 289. Lefful, L. 1002.
Levynge, *s.* manner of life, L. 185.
Levys, *pr. s.* believes, L. 247, &c.
Licour, *s.* liquid matter, T. 289.
Lif, *vn.* to live, T. 201.
Ligges, *pr. pl.* lie [in bed], T. 358.
Lightenes, *s.* lightening, easing, T. 332.
Likand, *adj.* pleasing, T. 386.
Likand, *adj.* pleasant, flattering, T. 462.
Likings, *s. pl.* appetites, desires, T. 503.
Likyng, *s.* desire, fancy, T. 510.
Lite, *s.* tardiness, T. 528.
Lithe, *s.* possessions, property, T. 234, 252.
Lousyng, *s.* loosing, parting, T. 345.
Loute, *pr. pl.* 1 *per.* bow down to, T. 174.
Louyng, *s.* love, or praise, L. 354.
Louynge, *s.* praising, L. 331.
Lyflode, *s.* subsistence, livelihood, L. 806.
Lykyng, *s.* pleasure, T. 195.
Lykynge, *s.* covetous desire, L. 1360.
Lykys, *impers.* it suits, pleases, L. 212, 258.
Lyst, *pr. s. subj. impers.* it may please, L. 1228.
Lyte, *adj.* little, L. 921.
Lyuelade, *s.* necessaries of life, means of living, L. 212.
Lyuynge, *s.* manner of life, conduct, conversation, L. 311.
Lyȝt, *adj.* easy, L. 871.
Lyȝtly, *adv.* lightly, easily, L. 747.
Lyȝtly, *adv.* easily, with little trouble, L. 960.
Lyȝtlyche, *adv.* easily, on easy conditions, L. 217.

Maidenhede, *s.* virginity, T. 125.
Manhed, *s.* manhood, human nature, L. 197.
Man-qweller, *s.* mankiller, murderer, L. 808.
Matermoyne, *s.* matrimony, T. 218.
Maundement, *s.* commandment, L. 549.
Mawmetries, *s. pl.* worship of idols, T. 176.
Mecher, *s.* skulker, sneak, L. 826.
Mede, *s.*, L. 1293. Is not this a misprint for *mete*, as T. has *met*?
Medful, *adj.* profitable, L. 601.
Mende, *s.* mind, remembrance, L. 112, &c.
Menged, *pp.* mingled, L. 166.
Men-sleers, *s. pl.* menslayers, L. 736.
Mercyes, *s. pl.* works of mercy, L. 1158.
Merryng, *s.* injury, loss, T. 124.
Mesure, *s.* moderation, temperance, L. 1289.

Methe, *s.* temperance or moderation; Methefulnesse, *s.*, T. 440.
Meyne, *s.* household, members of the household, L. 605.
Mighty, *adj.* able to do (a thing), T. 362.
Mischef, *s.* peril, L. 1105.
Mischefys, *s. pl.* perils, L. 1156.
Misdos, *pr. pl.* ill-treat, T. 370.
Misse, *v.* to lose, come short of, lack, T. 379.
Mister, *s.* need, T. 360.
Modirhede, *s.* motherhood, T. 124.
Most, *pr. s.* must, L. 535.
Moste, *pr. pl.* must, are compelled to, L. 213.
Most, *adj. superl.* greatest, L. 65.
Mot, *pr. pl.* must, have to, L. 314, 321, &c.
Mow, *pr. pl.* 1 *per.* we may, L. 76, &c.
Mow, *pr. pl.* may, L. 169, &c.
Mynnyng, *s.* minishing, T. 125.
Mysbileues, *s. pl.* misbeliefs, heresies, T. 176.
Myschef, *s.* misfortune, ill-luck, L. 650.
Myscheuys, *s. pl.* evils, adversities, L. 81.
Mys-dispendys, *pr. pl.* misspends, L. 793.
Myster, *s.* requirement, L. 340.

Namely, *adv.* especially, notably, T. 45, L. 837.
Nedder, *s.* T. 459. Neddir, *s.* T. 458. Neddyr, *s.* L. 518, 1307. An adder, serpent.
Neddyrys, *s. pl.* L. 1306.
Nedelynge, *adv.* necessarily, needs, L. 100.
Nedles, *adj.* those not in want = the rich, L. 666.
Nedlych, *adv.* of necessity, L. 84.
Neghe, *pr. s.* approach, L. 347.
Nempne, *v.* to mention, L. 179.
Neuen, *pr. pl. subj.* 1 *per.* name, make mention of, T. 186.
Neuened, *pp.* named, T. 491.
Neynd, *adj. num.* ninth, T. 232.
Nobley, *s.* nobility, dignity, L. 613, 1311. Nobillay, T. 463.
Noght, *adv.* noght but = only. E. R. Y. nabut, T. 95.
Norischyd, *pt. s.* nourished, fed, L. 286.
Norschid, *pp.* L. 286.
Norschyn, *pr. pl.* foster, uphold, L. 768.
Norschyng, *s.* nourishing, nursing, L. 706.
Noþer, *conj.* neither.
Nyse, *adj.* foolish, L. 634.

O, *adj.* one, L. 401.
Of, *prep.* on, under, T. 71, L. 388.
Of, *prep.* of, T. 252.
Of, *prep.* by, T. 256.
Of, *prep.* from, T. 245, 255, 315, L. 1028.
Of, *adv.* off, Leue of = to forsake, leave off, L. 800.
Ogayn, *adv.* again, once more, T. 111.
Ogayne, *prep.* towards, in reference to, T. 439.
Ogaynes, *prep.* against, in opposition to, T. 304, 436.
Ogaynes, *prep.* contrary to, T. 539, 548.
Oker, *s.* usury, T. 512.
Old, *adj.* of the age of reason, L. 987.
On, *adj.* one, L. 412, 417.
On, *prep.* in T. 49, L. 56.
Onentes, *prep.* anent, concerning, T. 77, 171, 385.
Ordeyne, *v.* to dispose, L. 956.
Ordinary, *s.* L. 767. "Every ecclesiastical superior in possession of ordinary jurisdiction; in a more restricted sense, a bishop who has right of ordinary jurisdiction in his diocese."—*Ducange.*
Oste, *s.* host, multitude, L. 519.
Oþer, from other, L. 211.
Oþer, *conj.* or, L. 769.
Oþer, *conj.* either, L. 213.
Ouer, *adv.* moreover, also, L. 217.
Outrage, *s.* T. 441, excess, or rather overpassing the mean towards either extreme, not only, as now, in the sense of injury or violence, possibly from connecting the word with *rage* from which it cannot be derived. Old Fch. *oltre*, F. *outre*, beyond: with suffix *age* (= L. *aticum*—)—L. ultra, beyond.—Skeat.

Owe, *vb. impers.* to be bound to, ought, L. 976.
Owe, *pr. pl.* 1 *per.* ought, L. 978.

Pai, *v.* to please, T. 393.
Pardon, *s.* indulgence, T. 566.
Pardoun, *s.* indulgence, L. 207, 1419.
Parlows, *adj.* shrewd, wicked cunning, L. 804.
Parlows, *adj.* perilous, L. 1225.
Partyclys, *s. pl.* articles of the Creed, L. 243.
Paskes, *s.* Easter, T. 321.
Passe, *v.* to pass away, to die, L. 1266.
Passynge, *part. pres.* overpassing, outraging, L. 1388. *See* Outrage.
Passys, *pr. s.* surpasses, excels, L. 61.
Parochiens, *s. pl.* parishioners, L. 61.
Partyes, *s. pl.* parts, members, L. 313.
Partyners, *s. pl.* partners, sharers, L. 611.
Patrimoyne, *s.* patrimony, T. 251.
Peyne, *s.* penalty, punishment, L. 125.
Peyne, *s.* pain, L. 142, 357.
Poyntys, *s. pl.* subject matter, circumstances, L. 69.
Porenesse, *s.* poverty in spirit, detachment, L. 1265.
Preche, *pr. s. subj.* should preach to, T. 50.
Prelacy, *s.* prelateship, L. 313.
Prentyd, *pp.* imprinted, impressed, L. 87.
Prestes, *s. pl.* priests, T. 40—of parish priests, as distinguished from prelates, parsons (rectors), vicars, and others in priest's orders.
Pynyd, *pp.* put to pain, tortured, L. 1121.

Querel, *s.* cause, L. 1287.
Qwestmongeris, *s. pl.* conductors of inquests, jurymen, L. 855—857.
Qweynte, *adj.* quaint, singular, L. 1221.
Qwyk, *adj.* living, L. 190.
Qwykyd, *pp.* restored to life, L. 295.
Qwyt, *v.* to pay, requite, L. 1084.

Refuse, *v.* to avoid, to eschew, T. 58, L. 375.
Reherce, *pr. pl. subj.* rehearse, repeat, T. 63, L. 380.
Rehercys, *pr. pl.* repeat by heart, lit. to harrow over again, L. 1420.
Religious, *s. pl.* monks, L. 845.
Reme, *s.* realm, kingdom, L. 89, 93, 94.
Rents, *s. pl.* payments, L. 49.
Reuyng, *s.* plundering, T. 221.
Rightwisely, *adv.* rightly, validly, canonically, T. 337.
Rightwisenesse, *s.* Justice the Cardinal Virtue, T. 417.
Riuely, *adv.* regularly, according to rule, rather = rifely, frequently, T. 257.
Roty, *v.* L. 772. From "rut" (cf. rutting tune), whence rote, practise.
Ryȝtful, *adj.* just, L. 531.

Sad, *adj.* sound, steadfast, settled, orthodox, L. 224, 686.
Sadly, *adv.* steadfastly, L. 528, 957.
Saf, *adj.* saved, L. 50, 51. Saufe, T. 44. Lat. salvos, 1 Tim. ii. 4.
Saffely, *adv.* steadfastly, T. 436.
Sal, *pr. pl.* 1 *p.* shall, T. 526, 529, &c.
Samen, *adv.* together, T. 115, 344, 400.
Samenly, *adv.* together, T. 91.
Sawter, *s.* Psalter, lady sawter = our Lady's Psalter, the Rosary; so called from the 150 Aves.
Schap, *s.* shape, L. 943.
Schape, *pr. pl.* 1 *per.* address, L. 105.
Scharp, *s.* form of words, L. 998.
Shap, *s.* T. 284, = shape.
Schrewde, *adj.* wicked, L. 139.
Secler, *adj.* secular, lay, L. 235.
Sekenesse, *s.* weakness, *not* sickness, T. 147.
Seknesse, *s.* foul sickness, evil smells, L. 342.
Sengyl, *adj.* single, unmarried, L. 1396.
Sere, *adj.* diverse, T. 95, 466, &c.
Seruyd, *pp.* deserved, L. 482.
Seruyse, *s.* prayers, private devotions, L. 569.
Seruyse, *s.* service, Breviary Offices, L. 573.

Seþen, *conj.* since, seeing that, L. 294, 746.
Seþen, *adv.* then, afterwards, L. 286, 293, 381, &c.
Sewyth, *pr. s.* follows, L. 122, 149.
Sey, *pr. s. subj.* say, L. 1254.
Seys, *pr. s.* sees, L. 1207.
Seyynge, *s.* saying, speech, L. 1253.
Sib, *adj.* related, of kin, T. 216, 555.
Sikerly, *adv.* certainly, T. 331.
Site, *s.* vexation, regret, T. 471.
Sithe, ofte sithe = oftentimes, T. 36.
Sithen, *adv.* afterwards, T. 64.
Skill, *s.* cause, reason, T. 5, 423.
Skillwise, *adj.* rational, endowed with reason, T. 12, 330.
Skillwisely, *adv.* rationally, according to reason, T. 446.
Skilwise, *adj.* reasonable, approving itself to reason, T. 324.
Sklaundir, *s.* slander, T. 489.
Skylful, *adj.* rational, endowed with reason, L. 19, 1037.
Skylfully, *adv.* with good reason, L. 1109.
Slauthe, *s.* sloth, slowness, T. 524.
Slawnes, *s.* sloth, T. 524.
Sleghe, *s.* prudence, T. 424.
Sleghness, *s.* slyness (in good sense), prudence, T. 424.
Sleyȝte, *s.* prudence, L. 1273.
Slyghtful, *adj.* sly, cunning, crafty, L. 1220.
Sotel, *adj.* subtle, distinct, exact, L. 244.
Sotel, *adj.* crafty, L. 1220.
Sothefastly, *adv.* truly, verily, T. 89, 113.
Sotylte, *s.* depth of meaning, L. 62, 67, 71.
Soune, *v.* to sound, to resound, T. 475.
Speces, *s. pl.* species, kinds, T. 527.
Spedful, *adj.* profitable, useful, L. 603.
Spedynge, *adj.* active, fruitful, L. 354.
Spices, *s. pl.* species, varieties, T. 466.
Spousebrek, *s.* breach of the marriage-vow, here used to explain auoutry, a mongrel substitute for the older English wedbrek, T. 551.
Stalthe, *s.* stealth, secret theft, T. 512.
Stalworth, *adj.* stalwart, sturdy, bold, T. 303.
Stalworthly, *adv.* courageously, L. 1279.
Stalworthnesse, *s.* fortitude, T. 430.
Stameryng, *vb. subs.* impediment, faltering [in action], T. 541.
Staunching, *part. pres.* hindering, L. 1390.
Stede, *s.* stead, place, T. 306.
Steyȝ, *pt. s.* ascended, L. 297, 475.
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